

JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

SUMMER 1996 VOLUME XXII, NUMBER 1



MUSEUM OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

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OF EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS



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Guy Atkinson and the Itinerant Artists of Fairfax Street, Alexandria

MONA L. DEARBORN

DURING THE FIRST decades of the nineteenth century, Alexandria, Virginia, was a stopping place for itinerant portrait artists traveling north, south, or west to find work. Because there were no resident artists in Alexandria at that time, itinerant artists had no competition unless the visits of two or three of them happened to overlap. An artist remained in the town as long as his portrait commissions warranted—a few days, weeks, or even months.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspaper notices contain frequent references to artists' taking up residence in a town and offering their services to the public. By collecting and comparing this information, a picture of itinerant artists' housing needs and networks of information regarding accommodation can be sketched out. This article will explore several aspects of the itinerant artist's experience in Alexandria: the characteristics of a "painting room" that an artist would seek; the role of merchant Guy Atkinson (1758–1835) in Alexandria's artistic history; and a look at the painters who stayed in rooms owned by Atkinson or nearby on Fairfax Street.

One of the very real problems that faced an itinerant painter upon arrival in a new town or city was finding a suitable painting room, which often served as his lodging as well. The artist required a room with good natural light that was located in the center of town.

There are many accounts detailing this difficulty in diaries, journals, and letters of itinerant artists. Elsewhere in Virginia, John Toole (1815–1860), an Irish immigrant painter, described graphically his search for such a room in a letter to his wife, Jane:

When I arrived here, I used every effort to rent a *suitable* room for painting, in a *suitable* part of the City; and such a room I found very hard to procure. I however, finally succeeded in renting one over Duval's Drug store, near the Banks, which is the most desirable part of the town. . . . I have a very large commodious room, of easy access, and with good lights. I, must say, however, that it ought to possess all these advantages and even more, and you will think so too when I tell you that I have to pay twelve dolls. a month for the single naked room! And it was only by a strong entreaty that I could rent it at all. It was Thursday before I succeeded, for owing to my being a stranger here, I did not know where to apply in search of vacant rooms. . . . I shall not advertise until I complete some specimens.¹

Painter William Dunlap (1766–1839), an artist, historian, and playwright, also mentions many times his search for a suitable painting room. In 1806 in Washington City, he recorded in his diary, "After some difficulties, & various walks to the City, I have hired a Room at a Hotel, not finding one at a private House to suit. I am to pay \$10.00 per Week, for lodging, boarding, fire & Candle, having a Chamber to myself."² He stayed at the Semmes Hotel. In Montreal on 16 August 1820, Dunlap noted, "Make unsuccessfull efforts to obtain a room to paint in." Two days later he recorded, "Engaged a painting room & board at Mansion House, a splendid Hotel, but cannot take possession until Monday 21st."³

John Wood (1775–1822), a miniaturist and profilist, advised readers of the *Virginia Gazette and Daily Advertiser* on 26 October 1803 that his "Polygraphic Physiognotrace," advertised previously in handbills, had been removed to "Haymarket Gardens, owing to the deficiency of light, where he will attend every afternoon from two until sun set."⁴ And in Philadelphia in 1795, an unidentified miniaturist placed the following notice in the *Gazette of the United States*, detailing his requirements for a room:

Wanted, On or before the first of December next, a Furnished Room, on the first or second floor, on a northern or western view, and situated between Front and Fifth-streets, and betwixt Walnut and Mulberry-streets, for which a liberal price will be given. The furniture required are only table and chairs, and chimney apparatus, as it is intended for miniature Painting business. Apply to the Limner at No. 13, north Fourth street.⁵

While much is known about the peregrinations of artists in the nineteenth century, little is known about the rooms that accommodated them.⁶ A painting room, called a studio today, had special requirements. A central location, adequate light, and reasonable price were probably the primary considerations. Although an itinerant artist might be forced to stay in a tavern on occasion, taverns were disruptive and noisy at the best of times. A painter with sufficient resources would try to engage a room, preferably not in a tavern. The basic necessities for a painting room were sufficient daylight to work by, a bed and bedding, two chairs, a table, cabinet or stool to hold art supplies, and a fireplace or small stove in the winter. The artist himself would have brought his own physiognotrace, if he used one, along with his other art supplies. An oil painter may well have carried a disassembled portable easel with his canvases. A miniature painter carried an organized little case containing water colors, small brushes (called pencils at the time), a stylus, extra ivories, a magnifying glass, and also a reducing glass to scale down the size of the sitter. A miniaturist's case of good quality opened to provide a small ledge or shelf on which to stand the ivory or card while the miniaturist painted on it.

The more successful (or ambitious) artists may have rented two rooms. James Warrell (1780–pre-1854), a painter of oil portraits, advertised in the *Virginia Patriot* on 23 September 1812 that “the room he paints in is detached from the one he has placed his pictures in,” an obvious social advantage over the itinerant artists who could afford, or locate, only one room.⁷ James Guild (1797–1841), a portrait and miniature painter from Vermont, wrote in his journal during a stay in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1824 that he “rented three rooms in an Elegan [*sic*] house, well furnished one for painting and

another to receive company and Exhibited Some of my finest Production at the Window. . . . In order to get business from the most wealthy people it becomes necessary to be noticed among them."⁸ He was a canny entrepreneur.

A newcomer to town would head for a tavern, because taverns served as clearinghouses for information. There the visitor would easily hear of suitable accommodations, if any were available. Although such artists might be competitors today, at this period they were often helpful to each other, demonstrating painting techniques and describing sources for art supplies. Undoubtedly they "networked"—comparing the best methods of travel, opportunities in other cities (or the lack thereof) and desirable painting rooms in various cities and towns.⁹ Artists' newspaper advertisements frequently mention that they are occupying rooms just vacated by another artist.

ALEXANDRIA AND GUY ATKINSON'S PAINTING ROOMS

In Alexandria between 1805 and 1820, an interesting and diverse group of itinerant artists rented painting rooms in two adjoining brick buildings (fig. 1) on Fairfax Street, between King and Cameron streets, which were owned by merchant Guy Atkinson.¹⁰ Of the twenty-two artists known to have visited the city between 1805 and 1820, one third advertised that they could be found on Fairfax Street.¹¹

A lively seaport town founded in 1749 and incorporated in 1779, Alexandria was built on commerce. Its prime advantage was its excellent port; the most important early exports were tobacco, wheat, flour, and lumber products. Technically it was part of the District of Columbia from 1790 until 1846, when it reverted to Virginia. Its business included three ropewalks, two tanneries, four distilleries, two small spinning mills, and two sugar refineries. Livestock, animal hides and tallow, whiskey, iron, and fish were also exported from this



1. Guy Atkinson's two buildings at 115, 113 N. Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Virginia, built c. 1796–1797. Courtesy of the Cox collection, Lloyd House Library of Virginia History and Genealogy, Alexandria.

thriving port. By 1820, six banks were in operation in the town.¹² Among the town's cultural attractions were seven churches, a small academy, one free school, two female academies, ten private schools, two Masonic lodges, and a small museum. The townspeople were largely middle-class exporters, importers, merchants, tradesmen, mechanics, and planters.¹³

Fairfax St. provided an ideal location in the heart of town, as it was very near Market House and Market Square, the fish market, the Masonic lodge, the town hall, the apothecary, the Bank of Alexandria, the C. A. Shutz circulating library, many taverns, the waterfront, wharves, and the public baths.¹⁴

Guy Atkinson was active in Alexandria business, political, and charitable circles. A younger son from King's County (now County Offaly), Ireland, he had worked as a shipping clerk to Colonel John Fitzgerald of Alexandria and later made several voyages to Spanish ports in the capacity of supercargo for Fitzgerald.¹⁵ As early as 1786 he was witnessing land transactions in Alexandria; he soon became a respected wine merchant and grocer and an active, responsible citizen of the developing town. He was a Council member, vestryman of Christ Church, a member of the Hibernian Society, and a Freemason.¹⁶ On 7 April 1803 Atkinson married Albina Birch, a daughter of the noted Philadelphia artist William Russell Birch (1755–1834), at the Presbyterian Meeting House in Alexandria.¹⁷ The Masonic historian F. L. Brockett, in his short biographical sketch of Atkinson, notes that Atkinson was present at the funeral of George Washington and also at the Masonic banquet held in Alexandria in honor of the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825.¹⁸ Guy Atkinson died at the age of seventy-seven on 21 May 1835, leaving three sons and two daughters. His wife Albina had died in 1818 at the age of thirty-one. They are buried at Christ Church Episcopal Wilkes Street Cemetery.¹⁹

Atkinson had bought property in Alexandria, lots 41 and 42, in October 1794 and had built, about 1796–97, the two brick buildings of three stories each that stand on Fairfax Street today. He insured

his various buildings with Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia in 1796 and 1797, and reinsured for higher valuations in 1805.²⁰ From these two buildings, Atkinson rented out rooms to artists and other itinerants, including at least one dentist, a Dr. R. Darrah “at his old stand at Mr. Atkinson’s house.”²¹

Atkinson himself has been erroneously called a portrait artist and gallery proprietor. This is based on a misinterpretation of a notice in the 4 October 1811 *Daily Gazette* (Alexandria) that states, “The Portrait and Miniature Painting Room at Mr. Guy Atkinson’s, on Fairfax street, is now open.”²² Although his name appeared frequently in connection with itinerant painters in Alexandria, there is no documentation anywhere that Atkinson himself was an artist—he was a landlord and merchant. The Portrait and Miniature Painting Room, which is discussed in more detail below, was operated by two or more itinerant artists and was first located at Atkinson’s in one or two of the rooms of the buildings on Fairfax Street. Atkinson simply rented out the rooms, a conclusion supported by the fact that the Painting Room moved to Prince Street within a month.

Although we cannot know how Atkinson’s rooms were furnished, their popularity suggests that they were appropriately equipped. Possibly he kept an easel at hand! It was most probably a pleasant situation, due to Albina Birch Atkinson’s upbringing in the artistic household of her father, William R. Birch, in Philadelphia, and to Guy Atkinson’s cosmopolitan background and hospitable nature, as described in his obituary.

Atkinson’s two buildings on Fairfax Street face west, thereby giving good natural light late in the day. Possibly the rooms rented out were on the north side of the house nearest Cameron Street (115 North Fairfax Street today). North light has been preferred by many artists; it is noteworthy that the unidentified miniaturist who advertised for a Painting Room in Philadelphia in 1795 specified a “northern or western view.”²³ The front windows of the buildings face directly onto the street, providing a good place to display an artist’s “specimens” or samples of his painting skill.

Of the more than thirty itinerant portrait artists who advertised in the Alexandria newspapers between 1784 and 1820, this brief study will focus on those who are documented as having lodged on Fairfax Street between 1805 and 1820:

- William Russell Birch (1755–1834), miniaturist, enamelist, and engraver of Philadelphia; in Alexandria from September into October 1805.
- Cephas Thompson (1775–1856), oil portrait painter from Massachusetts, December 1807 to spring 1808; visited again in May 1809, remaining into the summer.
- John Bell (active 1808–1816) and his son Thomas Charles Bell (active 1810–1831), profilists, portrait and miniature painters, and teachers of drawing and painting from Baltimore; in Alexandria from mid-March to mid-August 1808. T. C. Bell advertised profiles in January 1809, perhaps on a return visit.
- Mr. Cromwell (active 1808–1811), miniature painter, profilist, and oil and crayon portraitist from London; in Alexandria for about a month in late June into July 1809.
- Nicholas Vincent Boudet (active 1793–1820), French-born oil portrait, miniature, and historical painter from Baltimore; in Alexandria from mid-September 1811 to June 1812.
- Louis Pise (1762–1822), Italian-born miniature and oil portrait painter and drawing master, from Baltimore; in Alexandria from June 1810 to July 1812.
- Cornelius Schroeder (active 1804–1831), miniature painter from New York; in Alexandria for two or three months from November 1816, returning in August 1818 for about a month.
- James Manning Leonard (1792–1847), oil portrait painter from Massachusetts; in Alexandria from late November 1818 to January 1819.

There is a tradition in Alexandria that Charles Balthazar Julien F  vret de Saint-M  min (1770–1852) had a painting room at one of

Atkinson's buildings for three months in the spring of 1805. In her definitive study of Saint-Mémin, Ellen Miles states, "Saint-Mémin's sitters included about twenty-five residents of Alexandria, Virginia. The artist may have temporarily moved his studio there, as some sources suggest, but no documentation for this has been found."²⁴

William Russell Birch

One of the earliest artists to refer to Guy Atkinson in a newspaper notice was the well-known Philadelphia artist William Russell Birch, whose daughter Albina had married Atkinson in 1803. Birch wrote about his 1805 visit in his unpublished autobiography: "I returned to Alexandra [*sic*] spent a few days with my son-in-law Mr. Guy Atkinson and their family, who were very happily situated."²⁵ Birch advertised his presence in Alexandria in the *Daily Advertiser*, 11 September 1805.

William Birch was undoubtedly one of the most notable and accomplished artists to visit Alexandria during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Born and trained in England, he had exhibited successfully in London as early as 1775 and exhibited his miniatures at the Royal Academy. Sir Joshua Reynolds had employed him to make miniature copies in enamel of Reynolds's own oil portraits. In spite of his success in London, Birch came to Philadelphia in 1794 with a letter of introduction from Benjamin West. He soon built a furnace to fire his enamels.²⁶ In 1800 he published with his son Thomas (1779–1851) a series of engraved *Views of Philadelphia*, followed in 1808–1809 by *Country Seats of the United States*.²⁷

In late summer of 1805, Birch had set out southward "with a gig and a little black mare of the canada breed"²⁸ to deliver some *Philadelphia Views* engravings already subscribed, and to obtain additional subscriptions for *Philadelphia Views* and for his yet-to-be-published *Country Seats*. He also hoped for commissions for portraits. His extended trip lasted many weeks and included Washington City and Alexandria, as well as Baltimore, Annapolis, and Easton, Maryland. He made many stops along the way with friends and acquaintances to whom he offered professional advice on improving

the landscape design and the siting ("situation") of their houses. This was a period of great interest in the country house in America, and Birch's native ability in planning and envisioning a house's situation gave him a solid reputation in this field.²⁹ With him he carried specimens of his work: miniature paintings in enamel on copper and watercolor on ivory, profile portraits, drawings, and engravings.³⁰

Birch was noted for his brilliant enamels with a high sheen, which were unique in this country. He seems to have been the first of the very few artists in America to work in enamel, a difficult, exacting, and tedious medium. In his autobiography he states, however, "The art of enamel painting here not understood or encouragement enough [?] to excell [*sic*]. I found my profession dwindling to contempt."³¹ In enamel on copper he painted portraits (figs. 2 and 3), landscapes, and even copies of old master paintings in miniature; many of his enamels were mounted in pendants, brooches, bracelets and snuffboxes.

He produced about sixty enamel portrait miniatures of George Washington after Gilbert Stuart, and also portraits of Thomas Jefferson after Stuart, Bishop William White after Thomas Sully, and the Marquis de Lafayette after Ary Scheffer. His life portraits, including those of Arthur Lee, Henry Clay, Samuel Chase, Daniel Webster, Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, Robert Gilmor, other noted people, and members of the Birch family, and his own self-portrait, have a striking immediacy. (fig. 4).³²

In addition, Birch was known for his evocative watercolors of street scenes and early views of Philadelphia and the Federal City, as well as his watercolor portrait miniatures and the richly detailed engravings. Even William Dunlap (1766–1839), often envious of his artist contemporaries, commented favorably on Birch's miniature portrait of George Washington after Stuart and added that "Birch could design."³³ He rendered an unusual variety of subject matter: still lifes, an engraving of *The Great Fire of London in the Year 1666*, a drawing of *A Dolphin from Nature*, enamels of simulated cameo and a fanciful *Triumph of American Independence*, and an engraving of *A Saint at his Devotion*.³⁴



2. William Russell Birch, General John Barker, 1790–1810, enamel on copper, HOA 3", WOA 2½" (miniature only). Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Gift of the A. J. Fink Foundation, 1963, accession 38.448. Signed lower right, "W.B."

3. William Russell Birch, Mrs. John Barker, 1790–1810, enamel on copper, HOA 3", WOA 2½" (miniature only). Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Gift of the A. J. Fink Foundation, 1963, accession 38.449. Signed lower right, "W.B."



4. *William Russell Birch, Self-Portrait, c. 1805, watercolor on ivory, HOA 2⁵/₈", WOA 2" (miniature only). Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, gift of A. J. Fink Foundation, 1963, accession 38.446. Inscribed on reverse, "Louisa S. Birch from her father, Nov. 24, 18—"*

Judging by his Baltimore advertisement of 15 October 1805, Birch remained in Alexandria only three to four weeks.⁴⁵ It may be worth noting that three years later, William Birch's son George Birch (active 1807–1811), a Philadelphia landscape painter, was in Alexandria for about nine months offering his father's engravings again for sale, and painting "Profiles in the neatest style—also cutting them at his room in King-street, four doors above the Indian Queen; where he has for sale, a number of Prints—Views of Philadelphia, Richmond, mount-Vernon, &c."⁴⁶ He offered drawing lessons as well. For the execution of a fourteen-by-eleven-foot emblematical painting, *The Nativity of Washington*, designed by the step-grandson of President Washington, George Washington Parke Custis (1781–1857), for display at a public ceremony to honor President Washington in Febru-

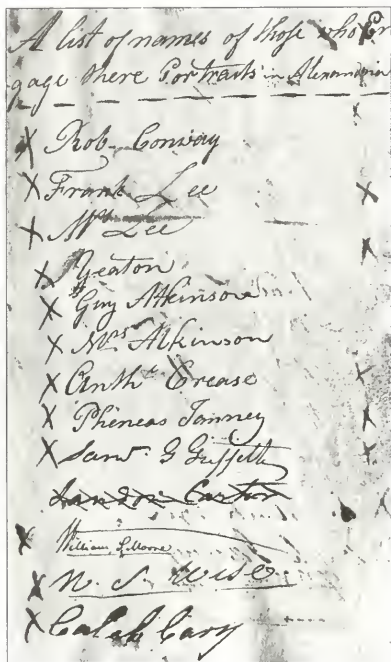
ary 1809, he received considerable recognition locally and in the neighboring cities of Fredericksburg and Baltimore.³⁷ George Birch left Alexandria later that spring and was commissioned in the U. S. Army Light Dragoons.³⁸

Cephas Thompson

In December 1807, two years after William Birch's visit, the Middleboro, Massachusetts, oil-portrait painter Cephas Thompson (1775–1856) stopped in Alexandria on one of his painting trips to the South, remaining at least through February 1808.³⁹ Thompson informed the inhabitants of Alexandria that he had “commenced business in the house adjoining Mr. Guy Atkinson’s, Fairfax-street, where some SPECIMENS may be seen.”⁴⁰ He returned a second time in May 1809, again staying in the house adjoining Atkinson’s.⁴¹

Thompson kept a detailed “Memorandum of Portraits” (fig. 5), which has survived; it includes forty-nine names of those who engaged to have their portraits painted during the winter of 1807–8, and about twenty-seven additional names in 1809, suggesting that he may have painted about seventy-five portraits in Alexandria.⁴² The exact number is uncertain because some names are given twice, some are crossed out, and some have the word “copy” or “for myself” added. It is also possible that not all were oil portraits—a few may have been the less expensive painted profiles.⁴³ Guy Atkinson and Mrs. Atkinson are listed on the first page of the Alexandria section of the Memorandum; their portraits may very well have been painted in exchange for rent, but unfortunately their location is unknown.

Among Thompson’s sitters were a considerable number of Alexandria merchants; in fact, some of the names in the Memorandum appear to be the actual signatures of the subjects. A substantial percentage of these names are familiar to present-day Alexandria historians: Yeaton, Lee, Janney, Moore, Wise, Fowle, Hopkins, Alexander, Slacum, Triplett, Dr. Dick, Gilman, Fitzhugh, Swan, Carter, Humfries and Powell. Among the local figures of interest is Mary Fitzhugh Custis (1781–1857), the wife of George Washington Parke



5. Cephas Thompson's Memorandum of Portraits. Recto of "A list of names of those who Engage there [sic] Portraits in Alexandria," 1807–1808. Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum, Mss. L303, vol. D, gift of Madeleine Thompson Edmonds.

Custis, mentioned earlier.⁴³ According to earlier sources, Thompson gave Parke Custis, as he was called, a few painting lessons.⁴⁴

During the winter of 1807–1808, Thompson painted Gurden Chapin (1766–1811) and his wife Margaret Reeder Chapin (m. 1793) (figs. 6, 7). Thompson was largely self-taught and produced a credible likeness, although his portraits have a static, rather passive air; he was kinder to the young women he painted, and these paintings have an appealing charm, as shown here.

According to family tradition and genealogies, Thompson painted portraits in the southern states during the winters and wisely returned to Massachusetts for the summers.⁴⁵ In 1804, prior to his Alexandria visit, he had been in Baltimore and Charleston, as well as Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1806–1807. In November 1809 Thompson traveled to Richmond, Virginia; he had great success painting there and in Norfolk, Virginia, into the winter of 1812. His Memorandum and newspaper advertisements indicate painting trips to New Orleans from December 1815 to January 1816; Bristol, Rhode Island, later in 1816; Savannah in 1817–1818, Charleston in 1818–1819 and again in 1822, his last southern trip.⁴⁶ The South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts in Charleston exhibited three oils by Thompson in 1823: *Portrait of an Old Man Aged 104*, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, and *Skull and Bones*.⁴⁸ He exhibited again in 1828

and 1830 at the Boston Athenaeum.⁴⁹ Of his eight children, three became successful artists: Marietta Tintoretta (1803–1892), a painter of portrait miniatures; Cephas Giovanni (1809–1888), a portrait and genre painter; and Jerome B. (1814–1886), a portrait, landscape, and genre painter.⁵⁰



6. *Cephas Thompson*, Gurden Chapin, 1807–1808, oil on canvas, HOA 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", WOA 22 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Courtesy of the Lyceum Collection, Alexandria, Virginia, gift of Georgiana Chapin Warren. LY1986.5.1.

7. *Cephas Thompson*, Margaret Reeder Chapin (Mrs. Gurden Chapin), 1807–1808, oil on canvas, HOA 27", WOA 22". Courtesy of the Lyceum Collection, Alexandria, Virginia, gift of Georgiana Chapin Warren. LY1986.5.2.

Two names of special interest that might escape notice in Cephas Thompson's Memorandum are Arad Thompson and John Bell, both in the 1807–1808 Alexandria section. Arad Thompson (1786–1843), the younger brother of Cephas, advertised his proposed Water Street Academy on 28 December 1807. He planned to teach “Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Mathematics, the Latin and Greek Languages, Geography, etc.”⁵¹ As there were many notices for competing teachers and schools of all kinds, it is unlikely that this venture succeeded. Arad Thompson studied medicine at Dartmouth College and ultimately became a physician in Middleboro, Massachusetts.⁵² The Thompson brothers may well have arrived in Alexandria together, Arad to teach and Cephas to paint portraits. Although Arad Thompson is said to also have painted portraits, none have been identified.⁵³

John Bell

The appearance of John C. Bell's name in Cephas Thompson's Memorandum helps to flesh out the interwoven careers and lives of itinerant artists of the time. Bell was a Baltimore portrait and landscape painter, known by his 14 March 1808 advertisement to have been in Alexandria, and it is instructive to note that he commissioned a portrait of himself during the winter of 1808.⁵⁴ It is highly probable that Bell wished to study Thompson's oil painting technique by watching him paint Bell's own portrait. American non-academic artists and craftsmen typically learned their skills from someone more experienced who was willing to do a little coaching, and Thompson was certainly a more competent painter than Bell. Bell's painted profile style, seen in figures 8 and 9, conveys a good likeness, characterized by some modeling and his distinctive curved lower edge that set off the profile well.⁵⁵

John Bell had a son, Thomas Charles Bell (ac. 1810–1831), who worked with him in Alexandria. Their first advertisement reads: “Fine Arts / I. Bell and Son, Teachers of Drawing & Painting, Ambitious to obtain the patronage . . . have taken a room in Fairfax street,



8. Attributed to John Bell, Portrait of a Man, c. 1816, watercolor on paper, HOA $4\frac{1}{8}$ ", WOA $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". Courtesy of the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, Moses Myers House. The Historic Houses are the property of the City of Norfolk and are operated by the Chrysler Museum of Art. M51.1.268.

9. Attributed to John Bell, Portrait of a Man, c. 1816, watercolor on paper, $4"$ x $3\frac{1}{16}"$. Courtesy of the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, Moses Myers House. The Historic Houses are the property of the City of Norfolk and are operated by the Chrysler Museum of Art. M51.1.267.

opposite to Mr. Gregg's, silversmith."⁵⁶ They taught the use of "Indian Ink, and Water Colors, 6 dollars per quarter—and for Oil Colors, ten dollars."⁵⁷

By 8 August 1808 John Bell offered what he described as an "Unheard of Accommodation"—as indeed it was, at least for Alexandria.

Unheard of Accommodation.

JOHN BELL,

Drawing and Painting Master

Is now raising a club, to supply individuals with their Portraits on easy terms: it will consist of twenty-four persons, each to deposit two dollars, weekly, and at the expiration of twelve weeks, each person shall receive a well finished and approved Likeness, large as life.

Two individuals will sit for their pictures every week, as their names are inserted in the list.

Specimens to be seen at his house, near captain Slacum's, lower end of Fairfax street.⁵⁸

This appears to have been an original, unique way to provide for day-to-day living expenses. Twenty-four persons times twenty-four dollars each would have resulted in a small fortune for Bell, \$576! Whether it captured the imagination of Alexandrians, however, is hard to say.

Mr. Cromwell

Although some one-hundred-eighty years have passed, from the printed newspaper notices it is still possible to catch the distinctive personalities of some of the more quirky, less staid itinerant artists. The optimist entrepreneur John Bell was one; another was a Mr. Cromwell who arrived on Fairfax Street a year later, in 1809, offering to teach "Broad Sword Exercise, The Whole Six Divisions . . . of fence and defence" as well as to cut profiles and paint portraits.⁵⁹

Cromwell had been in Quebec from early August 1808 into January 1809, a successful five-month stay, advertising "Profile Likenesses, Four for Fifteen Pence: With a new Patent Physiognotrace . . . Portraits taken in Oil, Crayons, and Water Colours—Profiles superbly Enamelled on Glass, Painted and Shaded ditto." In Canada he also claimed to have been a "Pupil of the celebrated Artist (Sir) Benjamin West."⁶⁰ The Canadian art historian J. Russell Harper notes that Cromwell "painted pictures for the churches" and also that he "gave evening readings and recitations, and acted in the local theatrical company."⁶¹ The striking half-length Canadian portrait in figure 10 is attributed to Cromwell.

We have less detailed documentation for Cromwell's Alexandria visit, since he remained only about one month. Perhaps there was not much call for the broad sword; it is not mentioned in Cromwell's later 1809 advertisements in Annapolis, Easton, and Baltimore, where he offered framing of profiles, prints, paintings and drawings, a more customary sideline for an artist.⁶² In Baltimore Cromwell advertised only twice, on 24 and 27 January 1810. Baltimore, as well as Philadelphia and Charleston, was an important artistic center at this time, and Cromwell must have met considerable competition; at least eight



10. *Attributed to Cromwell, Miniature Portrait of Colonel Michel-Louis Juchereau-Duchesnay, c. 1808, gouache and watercolor on ivory, HOA 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", WOA 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.*

portrait artists were known to have been in Baltimore in 1810.⁶³ By the end of December, Cromwell was in Charleston, where he advertised through July 1811, describing his work in great detail.⁶⁴ According to Anna Wells Rutledge, his only competitor at the time was probably John Rubens Smith (1775–1849), if indeed Cromwell was still in Charleston by November 1811.⁶⁵ No later mention of Cromwell is known.

THE PORTRAIT AND MINIATURE PAINTING ROOM

Two years after Cromwell's 1809 visit to Alexandria, a new artistic venture was announced in the press by a small notice in mid-September 1811, which was followed by a larger notice on 4 October 1811:

NOTICE.

THE *Portrait and Miniature Painting Room* at Mr. Guy Atkinson's, on Fairfax street, is now open for the reception of Setters every day in the week, between the hours of ten and two, excepting Saturdays, which are entirely dedicated to the Admirers of Liberal Arts, whom the Artists particularly invite to the above place; where the likenesses of several persons taken here are to be seen.

Price of Likenesses are as follows, viz.

For Portraits in Bust, 60 dollars.

For half size Portrait, 30 dollars.

For Miniature, 25 dollars.⁶⁶

As has been discussed above, the mention of Guy Atkinson's name in this notice has been interpreted to mean that Atkinson was the artist and gallery proprietor; however, from the pattern of several artists' renting Atkinson's rooms, it becomes clear that he was simply the landlord. On 12 October 1811, the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room announced its first move, from one of Atkinson's build-

ings on Fairfax Street to Prince Street; in April 1812 it moved to Washington Street; finally, on 18 June 1812 it moved back to Prince Street. This was the Painting Room's last mention in the local press and the sole notice that included the name of an artist—Nicholas Vincent Boudet.⁶⁷

There are three points to be noted about the 4 October 1811 advertisement. First of all, more than one artist was involved in the Painting Room; second, the unidentified portraitists had been in town long enough to have made likenesses of several local people to display as specimens of their work; third, the prices quoted are somewhat higher than one might expect in Alexandria in 1811.

Who were the portrait artists who placed this notice? At present the only clues are the newspapers, telling us who was in Alexandria between September 1811 and June 1812. MESDA's *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans* and the research facilities at Lloyd House, the Library of Virginia History & Genealogy in Alexandria, record two such artists: Nicholas Vincent Boudet (ac. 1793–1820) and Louis A. Pise (1762–1822), both Baltimore artists and both French-speaking according to their advertisements, although Pise was actually Italian-born and trained.

Competition among artists was fierce in Baltimore. Boudet and Pise, who may have been well acquainted in that city, were probably “testing the waters” in Alexandria, which, like almost every American coastal city, had a small French émigré community. The use of Boudet's name in the 18 June 1812 notice strongly suggests that he was a leading figure in the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room of 1811–1812; it is very likely that Louis Pise was involved as well. Other artists whose names have not yet surfaced may also have participated for a few weeks or months.

By the time of the last newspaper mention of the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room on 18 June 1812, it had been in operation about ten months; after that time, it appears that the artists drifted away. An ever-present problem for portraitists, even if successful for a time, was that they tended to work themselves out of commissions, especially in the smaller cities and towns.

The name of Louis (Lewis) A. Pise (1792–1822) is an obscure one, in part because no drawings, miniatures, oil portraits or landscapes have been identified as his, although he worked in the Chesapeake region for two decades. Furthermore, his name has often been misspelled as Peis, Pease, Pese, Pite, and Pife (inaccurate transcription of the letter S).⁶⁸

Pise first advertised in Philadelphia as a miniature painter from 1795 to 1798, but soon moved to Baltimore, listing himself in 1799–1801 as a miniature painter and drawing teacher, “Disciple of the Royal Academy of Painting of Torino.”⁶⁹ He spent the next five years in Annapolis, where his son, the clergyman and poet Charles Constantine Pise (1802–1866), was born.⁷⁰ In 1806 he re-established himself in Baltimore, which became his home except for painting trips to Alexandria in 1810–1812, to Georgetown later in 1812, and to Easton, Maryland, in 1819.⁷¹ In Baltimore Pise taught at the academies of Madame LaCombe and Mr. Samuel Brown and at Baltimore College, working in several media—chalk, watercolor, and oils. He also taught French at these establishments, as well as in other towns.⁷² In Annapolis and Baltimore he also offered to paint “mourning devises.”⁷³ Mourning devices or mourning miniatures were small paintings in watercolor on ivory, containing classical symbols of sorrow, such as a gravestone, an urn, a weeping willow, often combined with grieving figures. Mourning miniatures were worn as locketts, brooches, bracelets, or rings, and are usually unsigned.

In Alexandria, Pise first advertised on 12 June 1810 as a “Painter and Drawing Master,” and followed this with similar notices on 25 May and 23 July 1811, probably remaining until early summer 1812, about the time the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room disbanded. By 2 July 1812 he had relocated to Georgetown, and by 1815 returned to Baltimore.⁷⁴ In 1822 Louis Pise, age 60, and three of his young children died in Baltimore, most probably from a highly contagious disease.⁷⁵

In his notices, Pise stressed his moderate prices: “Likenesses in oil

for Fifteen Dollars—Paintings, as landscapes and other subjects may be had on moderate terms.” He may have been trying to obtain more custom from middle-class patrons; in 1799 in Baltimore, he had even offered to take goods in payment.⁷⁶ The fact that he emphasized teaching, a more dependable source of income, in his advertisements does not rule out his painting the occasional miniature, oil portrait or landscape, nor his likely participation in the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room.

Nicholas Boudet

Nicholas Vincent Boudet (ac. 1793–1820) was an unusual artist—very French, very much of his time, and very voluble. He believed in advertising, and his notices make interesting reading. A refugee with his family from the political turmoil in France, he arrived in Philadelphia between 1791 and 1793.⁷⁷ At first he specialized in portrait and miniature painting, and his son Dominic William Boudet (ac. 1801–1845) taught dancing and the French language. In 1801–1802 father and son were in Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, then Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, and from 1806–1810 they offered “Likenesses in the Academical Style” in Baltimore.⁷⁸

However on 10 August 1810, Boudet printed this testy notice in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington City:

Mr. Boudet, Historical, Portrait and Miniature Painter,
from the Academy of Paris,

“Respectfully . . . has opened a Painting Room on the Capitol Hill, where he offers his professional services, and at the same time informs them that in consequence of his not wishing to have his paintings taken for those of Mr. Boudon’s, and Mr. Boudon’s for his, he acquaints them that Mr. Boudet is not Mr. Boudon, and Mr. Boudon is not Mr. Boudet.”⁷⁹

Their style was not at all similar; David Boudon, (ac. 1794–1816) a French-speaking Swiss émigré, executed sensitive portraits usually in silverpoint on vellum.⁸⁰

By 3 October 1810 in Baltimore, Nicholas Boudet placed an extravagantly worded notice that began: “Imitation of Nature In the Style Rare in Europe, and Novel in America—or Portraits of All Sizes, Painted in the most graceful style, not only on Canvass and Ivory, but on and Silver Gold” [*sic*].⁸¹ The notice, which is too long to quote here, appears to contain a note of desperation reflecting his precarious finances.

On 7 August 1811, Nicholas Boudet and his son inserted a notice in a Baltimore newspaper referring more directly to their financial difficulties: “N. Boudet & Son hereby give notice to those to whom they are indebted, as well as those who are indebted to them, that for the better arrangement of their business in Baltimore, they have fixed upon the 1st of January, 1812, for the adjustment of all unsettled accounts of the firm.”⁸² Significantly, this notice was printed shortly before the Alexandria Portrait and Miniature Painting Room opened for business in mid-September 1811. Boudet may well have felt that he would fare better in Alexandria than in Baltimore.

Nicholas Boudet’s location in June 1812 is puzzling. He placed one newspaper notice, mentioned above, in Alexandria on 18 June 1812, while two days earlier, on 16 June, a notice appeared in the *National Intelligencer* in Washington City, saying “MR. BOUDET, penetrated with the most lively sentiments of gratitude . . . happy to give notice that his Painting Room will be open on Capital Hill . . . invites connoisseurs and the admirers of the liberal arts to visit.”⁸³ This sounds like Nicholas Boudet’s phrasing. Was he simultaneously painting in Alexandria and Washington City? Or, because Nicholas and his son, Dominic William, so often worked together as partners, was one man, perhaps Dominic, working in Washington City and the other still in Alexandria? In any case, after four months in Washington City, father and son headed to Fredericksburg, Virginia.⁸⁴

In 1813 Nicholas Boudet returned briefly to Philadelphia, where he wrote a letter of several pages in French to Stephen Girard (1750–1831), the eminently successful shipping merchant, financier,

and banker, importuning Girard for money Boudet felt was owed him for having designed a ship for Girard in the early seventeen-nineties.⁸ There is no record that Girard responded to this impassioned letter. In 1794 Boudet had painted a lovely portrait of Sally Bickham (fig. 11), Girard's housekeeper. Significantly, this portrait is signed on the front, lower right, on a small square of attached paper, "Phil' 1794 by / N. V. Boudet / price 40 Dollars." It is a reverse painting, oil on glass, a medium unmentioned in his newspaper advertisements.

It is worth noting the uncommonly high prices Boudet set for his work in Alexandria, listed in the 4 October 1811 notice for the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room. He gives no prices in newspa-



11. *Nicholas Boudet, Sally Bickham, 1794, reverse painting on glass, HOA 25¼", WOA 20½". Courtesy of Stephen Girard Collection, Girard College, Philadelphia. Inscribed on paper label, lower right: "Phila. 1794 by / N. V. Boudet / price 40 Dollars."*

pers in other cities for comparison, although we do know that he put a value of \$40 on the Sally Bickham portrait. It may be that his prices reflected his pressing Baltimore debts combined with a rather inflated idea of his own worth, an attitude probably based on his privileged French background.⁸⁶

In 1818, back in Baltimore, Nicholas Boudet exhibited his large oil painting, the *Celebration of the Memorable Fourth of July*, at the courthouse. Dominic Boudet also exhibited his large *Battle of North Point* and other historical paintings. Nicholas and Dominic Boudet were brought to debtor's court as "insolvent debtors" in February and March 1820, respectively. The son's painting career continued until 1845; however, Nicholas Boudet drops from public record in 1820.⁸⁷

Cornelius Schroeder

In Alexandria in 1816, Cornelius Schroeder (ac. 1804–1831), a somewhat obscure New York miniaturist originally from Hanau, Germany, advertised that he had taken a room at Mr. Guy Atkinson's, where he would paint likenesses.⁸⁸ His known miniatures, in watercolor on ivory, were sold for \$15.00.

Schroeder's travels were those of the prototypical itinerant artist, ranging from the Carolinas in 1804 to Montreal in 1831.⁸⁹ In 1806 he was in Halifax, North Carolina, and then in Raleigh, North Carolina, when the state legislature was in session; in 1807–1808 he was in Savannah and Augusta, Georgia, where he advertised "likenesses in Lockets, Breastpins, etc."; in 1809 in Augusta and Savannah again; between 1811–1816 he is listed in New York city directories; after his 1816 Alexandria sojourn, planned to last a "few weeks," as his 11 November 1816 advertisement states, he returned to Savannah in 1817; in August 1818 he returned to Alexandria, to work "at Mr. Atkinson's as heretofore."⁹⁰ He then spent October through December 1818 in Richmond, after which the autumn of 1819 found him in Quebec and Montreal.⁹¹ After 1820 until 1829, he is again listed in New York City directories, but in 1830–1831 he is in Montreal and Quebec again.⁹² An unusual event in Schroeder's painting career occurred in

1819 in Montreal, when Schroeder painted a portrait of Charles Lennox, the Fourth Duke of Richmond, the Governor-General, who had recently died of rabies from a fox-bite. The portrait was engraved by William Leney (1769–1831).⁹³

Schroeder had considerable success in the American South, where a number of his accomplished portrait miniatures are known to be in private collections (see figure 12). Most often they are initialed “C. S.” in paint, but at least two have been recorded that were backed with a card bearing his name, followed by “Portrait and Miniature Painter.”⁹⁴



12. *Cornelius Schroeder, Miniature Portrait of an Unknown Woman, c. 1810, watercolor on ivory, HOA 2¼", WOA 1¾" (miniature only). Signed lower right: "C.S." Private collection. MRF 6,009.*

The last artist documented to have rented a painting room from Guy Atkinson before 1820 was James Manning Leonard (1792–1847), a painter of oil portraits from Middleboro, Massachusetts, and the young brother-in-law of Cephas Thompson (1775–1856), who had lodged at Atkinson's in 1807–1808 and in 1809. Leonard's older sister Olive Leonard (1780–1819) had married Thompson in 1802.⁹⁵ The progress of James Manning Leonard's career, though sketchy, can be pieced together partly from newspaper advertisements for his painting itinerancy, partly from information contained in Leonard and Thompson genealogies that document his later life in the Midwest.

James Manning Leonard began to advertise as a portrait painter in 1811, at the age of nineteen, in New Bedford, Massachusetts, after an apprenticeship with Cephas Thompson.⁹⁶ Thompson had had success painting portraits in the South, and Leonard headed south as well. His Yankee reticence showed in his newspaper notices; consequently, they are not very informative. On 31 January 1816 he advertised "Portrait Painting" in Norfolk, Virginia.⁹⁷ The following December, he stated in Fredericksburg, Virginia, that "a specimen of his work" could be seen at his rooms; however, by 8 March 1817 he informed the inhabitants that he had "several Portraits of Gentlemen, well known to this place" as specimens.⁹⁸ In January 1818 he seems either to have made a repeat visit to Fredericksburg or to have remained there since the previous March.⁹⁹

Leonard probably returned to New England during the summers, as did Cephas Thompson, because his advertisements appear in the winter months. At the end of November 1818 Leonard first advertised in Alexandria that he had "taken rooms . . . in Mr. Guy Atkinson's building, Fairfax street," where he remained well into January 1819. To avoid interruption he "alotted to visitors from 11 A.M. till 2 P.M. on Tuesdays and Fridays."¹⁰⁰

About 1820 Leonard was painting in Jefferson County, Virginia (now West Virginia).¹⁰¹ We learn from family sources that he aban-

doned portrait painting because “the lure of the West and the success in business some of his brothers were having was too strong for him.” By 1833 he had moved to Madison, Indiana; about 1834 he moved to Ottawa, Illinois, where he was engaged in the mercantile and milling businesses. He died there in 1847.¹⁰²

Very few portraits have been identified as the work of James Manning Leonard or attributed to him; figure 13 shows an early work, circa 1811, from Massachusetts. An early self-portrait from a private collection is quite a tour de force; it shows the young, dark-haired artist holding a palette and mahl stick in his left hand and a brush in



13. *James Manning Leonard, David Delano, c. 1811, oil on canvas, HOA 24", WOA 17½" (not including frame). Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Mass. Courtesy of New Bedford Whaling Museum, gift of Sarah T. Hammond, accession 24.5.*

his right, seated in front of a canvas showing another self-portrait. It is regrettable that James Manning Leonard abandoned portrait painting. Unrecorded portraits by James M. Leonard may well be found in Norfolk, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria, Virginia, as well as elsewhere in the South where Leonard traveled.

The itinerant artists described in this article are representative, even typical, of the hundreds of itinerant artists who traveled the eastern seaboard from Savannah to Quebec after the Revolution and before the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839. It was not an easy life; some young artists were itinerants only until they became known and could establish themselves somewhere. Others did seem to prefer the life of a wanderer. A number of itinerant painters became well known, including Ralph Earl (1751–1801), Charles Loring Elliott (1812–1868), William Dunlap, Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872), John Wesley Jarvis (1780–1840), and Chester Harding (1792–1866).¹⁰³

Neil Harris pointed out in *The Artist in American Society: the Formative Years 1790–1860*, that American artists needed “efficiency, salesmanship, pricing shrewdness, and innovation.”¹⁰⁴ This group of nine itinerants showed considerable variety in their natural ability and training, background and personality, types of portraits offered, secondary back-up skills, and entrepreneurial flair. However, they experienced many of the same problems: difficulty obtaining commissions and procuring supplies, competition and pricing, becoming known in a new community, non-payment for portraits, and arduous travel.

By welcoming and encouraging the artists passing through Alexandria, Guy Atkinson and his wife Albina added to the life of the town and to its cultural history. In turn, the artists and other itinerants brought with them new ideas and sophistication to further enliven the towns they visited. In Fredericksburg, Virginia, Nicholas Boudet remarked in October 1812 the necessity for the townspeople “perpetuating their resemblances for the gratification of [their] rela-

tives.” Ironically, while these artists perpetuated the resemblances of their sitters for posterity, they themselves often faded into obscurity because of their transient lifestyles. Though their role is not yet widely understood, these artists deserve a place in the social history and art history of the American South.

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NOTES

1. Quoted in William B. O’Neal, *Primitive into Painter: Life and Letters of John Toole* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1960), 35, 86. John Toole, Richmond, Va., to Jane Toole, Charlottesville, Va., 17 Jan. 1847. My thanks to Dr. Ellen Miles for reminding me of Toole’s letters.

2. *Diary of William Dunlap*, 3 vol., (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1931), 2:386.

3. *Ibid.*, 2:547.

4. In Richmond in 1803, John Wood offered painted miniatures on ivory or “Vellum paper” or profile “shades.” One month later, in Alexandria, Wood advertised “The Polygraphic Physiognatrace . . . the Inventor of the method of taking coloured Likenesses from the reflected image of a camera obscura. . . . Black shades . . . Profile likenesses in miniature, finished in colours and black lead . . . one dollar and fifty cents.” *Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer*, Virginia, 26 November 1803. Unless otherwise noted, transcriptions of newspapers and documents were provided by the MESDA Research Center.

5. Quoted in Alfred C. Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1786–1800* (Topsfield, Mass., 1932), 40.

6. In “The Evolution of American Artists’ Studios, 1740–1860,” Annette Blaugrund discusses Benjamin West’s painting room in London and its influence on his American students, and also includes artists’ studios in New York City in the period of 1835–1860 (*The Magazine ANTIQUES*, January 1992, 214–23). The article is not concerned with rented quarters of the typical itinerant.

7. For more information about James Warrell’s interesting career as an artist, theatrical scene painter, and museum proprietor, see Linda Crocker Simmons, “18th and 19th Century Artists Active in the Lower Shenandoah Valley,” *Winchester-Fredrick County Historical Society Journal*, 4:104–6. See also R. Lewis Wright, “James Warrell, Artist and Entrepreneur,” *Virginia Cavalcade*, Winter 1973, 5–19. In 1788, Warrell advertised in Alexandria as a dancing master (*Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, 22 August 1798).

8. Quoted in Joyce Hill, “New England Itinerant Portraitists,” in Peter Benes, ed., *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (Boston: Boston University, 1986), 154.

9. For examples of artists helping each other, see William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834; reprint, New York: Dover, 1969). Dunlap describes how Edward Greene Malbone (1777–1807) “showed me the method of [properly] preparing the ivory, and furnished me with many valuable hints in addition” (vol. 2, part 1, p. 20). He also describes how Malbone offered to show John Wesley Jarvis (1780–1840) and Joseph Wood (c. 1773–1830) “his mode of proceeding, from the preparation of ivory to the finishing of the picture” (76–77). Charles Fraser (1782–1860) wrote Anson Dickinson (1779–1852), a fellow miniaturist, on 21 May 1819 to thank Dickinson for sending him ivory and cases for miniature painting: “I have but four glasses left and not a case or Black frame is to be found in Charleston.” (Mona Dearborn, *Anson Dickinson, the Celebrated Miniature Painter, 1779–1852* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1983), 12. Thomas Sully (1783–1872) said of Charles Fraser’s help, “He was the first person that ever took the pains to instruct me in the rudiments of the art, and although himself a tyro, his kindness, and the progress made in consequence of it, determined the course of my future life.” In Martha Severens, ed. and comp., *Charles Fraser of Charleston* (Charleston, S.C.: Gibbes Art Gallery, 1983), 23.

10. T. Michael Miller, comp., *Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria, 1780–1820* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books for the Alexandria Library, 1992), 136, 1:21–18, 2:41. Appendix IX consists of the 1834 City Directory of Alexandria, D. C., which includes the listing “Atkinson, Guy & Son, wine and grocery store. Fairfax near King St.” (2:475).

11. An analysis of the known accommodations of the itinerant artists who worked in Alexandria before 1820, based on a tally of their newspaper advertisements, is instructive. Four are documented as staying at Guy Atkinson’s—William R. Birch, Cephas Thompson, Cornelius Schroeder, and James Manning Leonard. Three others were also on Fairfax Street—John and Thomas Charles Bell, and Mr. Cromwell, although it is not clear in the advertisements precisely where they lodged on Fairfax. Louis A. Pise offered to teach “at his dwelling house . . . Fairfax street, the house of Mrs. Davis.” Nicholas V. Boudet never indicated where he lodged. Perhaps some of these were also at Atkinson’s. The above artists will be discussed in the text.

Three itinerants boarded at boarding houses: William MacGavin (ac. 1794–1804), miniaturist, in 1804 at Elizabeth Craycroft’s on Fairfax Street; John Wood, profilist, in 1803 at Mr. Cunningham’s on King Street; and Carl Weinedel (1795–1845) in 1820 at Mrs. Ashton’s on Fairfax Street.

Eight lodged at taverns: James Evans (ac. 1803) and John George (ac. 1803), profilists, at the Spread Eagle in 1803; Etienne Moranges (d. 1804), miniaturist, at Mr. Abert’s tavern in 1798 (in 1797 he lodged with a Mr. Hickman); Martha Ann Honeywell (c. 1787–1848?), a severely handicapped artist who worked with fabric and paper, at the Indian Queen in 1807; John Vermonnet (ac. 1792–1805), miniaturist, at Mr. Abert’s tavern, 1794; William Joseph Williams (1759–1823), portrait and miniature painter, at Peter Kemp’s tavern in 1799; and Thaddeus Sobiesky (ac. 1810–1820), profilist and crayon artist, at the Indian Queen in 1810.

Other itinerant artists were not specific about their location in town. Several asked to be contacted at the shop of a merchant, jeweler, or in the case of Jeremiah Paul (d. 1820), portrait, miniature, and figure painter, at Rachel Atkins’ print store in 1802. In the more rural areas, it was customary for a portrait artist to live with the family being portrayed. It may be that David Boudon (1748–c. 1816), miniaturist, lived with the Cazenove family in Alexandria when he painted the six members of that family in 1806.

12. Data abstracted from G. Terry Sharrer, “Commerce and Industry,” in John D. Macoll, ed., *Alexandria, a Town in Transition, 1800–1900* (Alexandria Bicentennial Commission and Alexandria Historical Society, 1977), 20–22; George J. Stansfield, “Banks and Banking,” in the

same volume, 44. For discussions of concentrations of art and artists in the Washington area, including Washington City, Capitol Hill, Georgetown, and Alexandria, see Andrew J. Cosentino and Henry H. Glassie, *The Capitol Image: Painters in Washington, 1800–1915* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 19–39. See also Thomas Froncek, ed., *The City of Washington: An Illustrated History* (New York: Knopf, for the Junior League of Washington, 1977; reprint, Avenel, N.J. Wings Books, 1992), chs. 1–3.

13. Miller, *Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria*, 1: xvi.

14. For a lively account of the history of Market Square, see James D. Munson, "The Alexandria Market Square," *Alexandria History*, (Alexandria, Virginia: Alexandria Historical Society, 1980), 2: 16–27.

15. F. L. Brockett, *The Lodge of Washington: A History of the Alexandria-Washington Lodge No. 22, 1783–1876* (Alexandria, Virginia: George D. French, 1876), 143.

16. James D. Munson, comp., *Alexandria, Virginia: Alexandria Hustings Court Deeds 1783–1797*, 1: 60.

17. T. Michael Miller, transcriber, *Alexandria and Alexandria (Arlington) County Virginia Minister Returns and Marriage Bonds 1801–1852* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987) 2; Wesley E. Pippenger, *Husbands and Wives Associated with Early Alexandria, Virginia* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1991), 3, lists Albina erroneously as the daughter of a Joseph Birch.

18. Brockett, *Lodge of Washington*, 143.

19. Patrick G. Wardell, comp., *Alexandria City and County Virginia Wills, Administrations and Guardian Bonds 1800–1870* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1986), 4–5. Will Book 4 (1831–1847), 92. Guy Atkinson's death is noted in *Obituary Notices from the Alexandria Gazette 1784–1915* as appearing in the *Alexandria Gazette*, 23 May 1835 (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987), 10. Albina's death was reported in the *Alexandria Herald*, 12 January 1818. See also Miller, *Artisans and Merchants*, 2: 422. The inscription on Guy Atkinson's tombstone reads: "Sacred / to the memory of / GUY ATKINSON / a native of / Kings County, Ireland / Barony of Clonlisk / Family residence Camgort / and for 19 years a citizen of / Virginia / who departed this life / May 21st A.D. 1835 / in the 77th year / of his age." Wesley E. Pippenger, *Tombstone Inscriptions of Alexandria, Virginia* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1992), 3: 88.

20. Ethelyn Cox, *Historic Alexandria Virginia, Street by Street, a Survey of Existing Early Buildings* (Alexandria, Virginia: Historic Alexandria Foundation, 1976), 39. A copy of an abstract of the Records of the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia at Lloyd House Historical Library, Alexandria, manuscript collection (Alexandria Association records, box 263X, file 6), describes in detail Atkinson's properties as they were insured in August 1805.

21. Miller, *Artisans and Merchants*, 1: 96. Darrah, the dentist, also stayed at Atkinson's on repeat visits to Alexandria in 1821, 1822, and 1823. See T. Michael Miller, *Portrait of a Town: Alexandria, District of Columbia 1820–1830* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1995).

22. R. Lewis Wright, *Artists in Virginia before 1900: An Annotated Checklist* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Virginia Historical Society, 1983), 3. The error is due to a misreading of an advertisement in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, 4 October 1811, which has been perpetuated in print.

23. Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina*, 40.

24. This information was first printed in Fillmore Norfleet, *Saint-Memin in Virginia: Portraits and Biographies*, (Richmond, Va: The Dietz Press, 1942), 31–32. It was repeated in the catalog by the Alexandria Association, *Our Town, 1749–1865*, (The Alexandria Association, 1956), 40 and again in Cox, *Street by Street*, 39. See Ellen G. Miles, *Saint-Memin and the Neo-*

classical Profile Portrait in America (Washington, D.C.: The National Portrait Gallery and the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 134 and 226, n.13. For a discussion of Birch "filling up profiles in an elegant style," as he advertised in Alexandria and Baltimore in 1805, see Miles, *Saint-Menin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America*, 120, 161–62 and figure 6:15, on 127, a Mrs. Harrison, watercolor on paper, 1807.

25. William Birch, "The Life of William Russell Birch, Enamel Painter, Written by Himself," unpublished autobiography, n.d. (typed transcription, 51 pp.), Birch Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 5. This absorbing document, which includes his appraisal of the arts in America, is of interest to many disciplines on many levels.

26. Although the literature about William Birch is extensive, a definitive study of his work has yet to be written. The following sources were the most relevant to this study. George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957), 51–52. Jean Lambert Brockway, "William Birch: His American Enamel Portraits," *Antiques*, (September 1933): 94–96. Martin P. Snyder, "The City of Independence in Prints: 1775–1838," *American Antiques*, (December 1977): 22–28. Marvin Chauncey Ross, "William Birch, Enamel Miniaturist," *Collector*, (July 1940): 1, 20. Prime, Alfred C., *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786–1800* (Topsfield, Mass., 1932), 4–5, 66.

27. Martin P. Snyder, "William Birch: His Country Seats of the United States," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1957, 225–29. See also, Martin P. Snyder, "William Birch: His Philadelphia Views," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1949, 271.

28. Birch, unpublished autobiography, 4.

29. *Ibid.*, 4–6. Snyder, *Country Seats*, 226–28. See also Gloria Gilda Deak, *Picturing America, 1497–1800*, 2 vols. (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 1:150–5, 160–3, 170–1; see v. 2 for illustrations. Rosalie Stier Calvert (1778–1821), in letters from her Maryland plantation to her family in Belgium, described William Birch visiting Riversdale and his plans for the grounds; see Margaret Law Callcott, ed., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 54n, 134, 148, 180.

30. Birch, unpublished autobiography, 6.

31. *Ibid.*, 7.

32. Theodore Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, (New York: F. F. Sherman, 1921), 10–13; Dale T. Johnson, *American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 82–85; and the Catalog of American Portraits, a research facility of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (an excellent portrait archive for portrait research).

33. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 2 vol. (1834; reprint, New York: Dover, 1969), 1:432.

34. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts, comps., *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogs from the beginning through the 18–6 Centennial Year*, 6 vol. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986) 1:320; Beatrice B. Garvan, *Federal Philadelphia, 1785–1825, the Athens of the Western World*, (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987), 77, 96, figs. 26–27; Johnson, *Miniatures in the Manney Collection*, 82–85.

35. *The Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 15 October 1805.

36. *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 23 June 1808; *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 16 September 1808; *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 14 March 1809. For information on George Birch, see Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 51; H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown, *A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820, Including Painters and Engravers* (New York: New York Public Library, 1950), 19;

37. *Baltimore Evening Post*, 3 March 1809; *Virginia Herald*, Fredericksburg, 4 March 1809. William Birch, the father of George Birch, had also visited George Washington Parke Custis in 1805. See William Birch, unpublished autobiography, 5, and Snyder, *Country Seats*, 228 for a transcription from the autobiography, although some lines have been omitted. William Birch described the elegant situation of Arlington House and Custis' plans.

38. Snyder, *Country Seats*, 228–29.

39. Cephas Thompson is usually mentioned in any discussion of southern painting because he traveled in the South during the colder months for about eighteen years, and is said to have painted more than five hundred portraits in the southern states. See Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 625–26; Linda Crocker Simmons, "Non-Academic Painting in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas," *The Southern Quarterly*, Fall/Winter 1985, 39–41; Ella-Prince Knox et al., eds., *Painting in the South: 1564–1980*, (Richmond: Virginia Museum, 1983), 54, 55; Estill Curtis Pennington, *Messengers of Style: Itinerancy and Taste in Southern Portraiture, 1784–1867*, (Greenville, S.C.: Greenville County Museum of Art, 1993), 21, 47; Estill Curtis Pennington and James C. Kelly, *The South on Paper: Line, Color and Light*, (Spartanburg, S.C.: Robert M. Hicklin Jr.), 5, 61; Hill, "New England Itinerant Portraitists," 167.

40. *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 19 December 1807; *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 25 February 1808; *Our Town*, 104.

41. *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 9 May 1809; Cox, *Street by Street*, 39.

42. Cephas Thompson's Memorandum of Portraits is owned by the Boston Athenaeum, gift of Madeleine Thompson Edmonds (Mss. L303 vol.D) Hereafter referred to as Thompson Memorandum. My thanks to Catharina Slautterback and Stephen Nonack, Boston Athenaeum.

43. In 1804 in Charleston, Thompson was more specific and offered "Likenesses in large, demi, and small sizes. He also cuts PROFILES, with his machine . . . paint PROFILES and executes them in gold," as quoted in Anna Wells Rutledge, *Artists in the Life of Charleston, through Colony and State from Restoration to Reconstruction* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949; reprint, Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 221. See also Whaley Batson, "Charles Peale Polk: Gold Profiles on Glass," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, November 1977, 51, which mentions Thompson's "delineating machine."

44. The portrait is in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. See *Our Town*, 9, plate VI.

45. *Appleton's Encyclopaedia of American Biography*, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1887), 6:88.

46. Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 625–26.

47. Transcriptions of Thompson's advertisements, as well as Rutledge, *Artists in Charleston*, 131, 221. For Richmond see *Richmond Portraits, Makers of Richmond, 1737–1860*, (Richmond, Va.: Valentine Museum, 1949), 233–34, 243, 256; and Virginius C. Hall, Jr., comp., *Portraits in the Collection of the Virginia Historical Society*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 28, 55. For New Orleans see John A. Mahé II and Rosanne McCaffrey, eds., *Encyclopaedia of New Orleans Artists 1718–1918*, (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 1987), 374.

48. Paul Staiti, "The 1823 Exhibition of the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts: A Paradigm of Charleston Taste?" in David Moltke-Hansen, ed., *Art in the Lives of South Carolinians, Nineteenth-Century Chapters*, (Charleston, S.C.: Carolina Art Association, 1979), nos. 49, 52 and 54 in the 1823 exhibition.

49. *Our Town*, 104.

50. The most complete account of the Cephas Thompson family is to be found in Manning Leonard, *Memorial: Genealogical, Historical and Biographical of Solomon Leonard* 163.

Duxbury and Bridgewater, Massachusetts, (Southbridge, Massachusetts, 1896), 227–29. Cephas Thompson married Olive Leonard (1780–1819) in 1802; they had eight children. See also Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 626–27, for the three who were artists.

51. *Alexandria Advertiser*, 28 December 1807, until 1 March 1808. See Miller, *Artisans and Merchants*, 2163.

52. Caroline Leonard Goodenough, *Memoirs of the Leonard, Thompson and Haskell Families*, (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1928), 78.

53. Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 625.

54. *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 14 March 1808. For more on Bell, see Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 42; and J. Hall Pleasants, "Studies in Maryland Painting" Maryland Historical Society files, Baltimore. Bell and his son are mentioned in passing in Stiles Tuttle Colwill, "A Chronicle of Artists in Joshua Johnson's Baltimore," in Carolyn J. Weekley and Stiles Tuttle Colwill, *Joshua Johnson, Freeman and Early American Portrait Painter*, (Williamsburg, Va., and Baltimore, 1987), 88. J. Hall Pleasants noted in his research material, "There was a Bell family of Scottish (?) painters at Fells Point, Baltimore, between 1809 and 1816." The Dielman-Hayward file at the Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore, contains a handwritten note on a card that John Bell died "8/25/1816 aet. 49."

55. The two portraits (figs. 8, 9) were first attributed to John Bell by J. Hall Pleasants, who compared them to the portrait of Dr. John Gray (1785–1823) at the Maryland Historical Society, signed "I. C. Bell Delin." At that time, the profiles were identified as Moses Myers (1753–1835) and John Myers (1787–1830). This identification is now considered incorrect; each is called Portrait of a Man (M51.1.268 and M51.1.267 respectively). The c. 1816 date is derived from the pieces of the *Baltimore Federal Republican* and *Baltimore Telegram* newspaper, dated 20 and 22 August 1816, that are pasted to the back of one profile. A handwritten card in the Dielman-Hayward file, Library of the Maryland Historical Society, states that John Bell died "8/25/1816 aet 49." The profiles could have been framed either before or after John Bell's death. According to the J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Painting files at the Maryland Historical Society (3666 & 3667), these watercolors descended through the family of Moses Myers and his wife Eliza Judd (or Judah) and were acquired by the Moses Myers House in Norfolk, now a part of the Chrysler Museum, at some time after 1926. Special thanks to Irene Roughton, Chrysler Museum, for her help.

56. For Jacob Gregg (1768–1832), silversmith, see Miller, *Artisans and Merchants*, 1173, and especially, Catherine B. Hollan, *In the Neatest, Most Fashionable Manner: Three Centuries of Alexandria Silver*, (Alexandria, Va.: The Lyceum, 1994), 145–47.

57. *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 14 March 1808, Courtesy of Lloyd House Library of Virginia History and Genealogy, Alexandria, Va. Hereafter cited as Lloyd House, Alexandria.

58. *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, 8 August 1808.

59. *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 26 June 1809. See Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 155. Although all newspaper notices known to this writer simply say Mr. Cromwell, one from an 1809 Hudson, N.Y., paper gives the name as D. H. Cromwell, while a miniature portrait of Col. Michel-Louis Juchereau-Duchesnav at the McCord Museum, Montreal, which is attributed to Cromwell, bears the initials "R.C." For more about cut-paper profilists active in Alexandria, see Mona Dearborn, "Isaac Todd's 1804 Alexandria Profiles," *The Alexandria Chronicle*, (Alexandria Historical Society, spring 1994), especially Appendix B, 15–18.

60. *Quebec Mercury*, 8 August 1808. See also Roslyn M. Rosenfeld, "An Index of Miniaturists and Silhouetteists who worked in Montreal," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* (1981) V, no. 2, 112, 114–15. For recent research about American artists in Canada, see Lydia Foy, "New England and New York Portrait Makers in Canada, 1760–1860," in Peter Benes, ed., *Painting*

and *Portrait Making in the American Northeast*, Proceedings, the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (Boston: Boston University, 1995), 107–117.

61. In the *Quebec Gazette*, 20 October 1808, the entire evening's program for Mr. Cromwell's Benefit is described. See J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 116–17, and J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 79.

62. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 9 August 1809. *Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser*, Easton, Md., 5 September 1809.

63. *Baltimore Evening Post*, 24 January and 27 January 1810. For a discussion of artists working in Baltimore in 1810, see Colwill, "Chronicle of Artists in Baltimore," in Weekley, *Joshua Johnson, Freeman*, 85–88.

64. *Times*, Charleston, S.C., 22 December 1810; 17 April and 29 July 1811. Rutledge, *Artists in Charleston*, 192, 229, 236, and 219 for John Rubens Smith.

65. Rutledge, *Artists in Charleston*, 192.

66. The first brief notice appeared in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 16 September 1811. The larger notice was printed in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, 4 October 1811.

67. *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, 12 October 1811: "Removal / The Portrait Painting Room / Is removed to the house on Prince street formerly occupied as a Post Office. It will be open as usual every day for persons wishing to employ the Artists, and for visitors every Saturday." *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial and Political*, 20 April 1812: "Removal / The Painting Room is removed from the House on Prince street, to the House on Washington street, next door to the Marshals' Office, near the Corner of King street, and nearly opposite to the dwelling of Robert Young, Esq." Boudet's advertisement in the same newspaper on 18 June 1812 announces the removal of the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room to Prince Street, opposite Mr. Mead's dwelling house, and lists the "Price of high finished paintings, viz:/A full size portrait with hands, \$100./A portrait in bust, \$50./Miniature, \$50./Smaller size, \$25."

68. See Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 507; Prime, *Arts and Crafts*, 1786–1800, 29; Brown and Brown, *Book-Arts and Book Trade*, 96; Colwill in Weekley, *Joshua Johnson, Freeman*, 79.

69. Philadelphia citations are given in Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina*, 29.

70. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 8 October 1801, 12 September 1805. For Charles Constantine Pise, see *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribner, 1964), 7:634–35.

71. Pise advertised his presence in Baltimore in the *Telegraph and Daily Advertiser* on 29 May 1806; the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* on 17 June 1806; the *Baltimore Evening Post* on 14 October 1807; *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* on 2 May 1808; and the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* on 31 January 1810. Between 1811 and 1814 Pise is not listed in the Baltimore city directories. He reappears in the *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* on 25 July and 19 October 1815, and is listed in the 1816 Edward Marchett Baltimore city directory as a "portrait painter and teacher of drawing." In the 1817 James Kennedy Baltimore city directory, he is described as a "landscape painter and teacher of drawing." He advertised again in the *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser* on 31 January 1818. Pise advertised in Easton in the *Easton Gazette & Eastern Shore Intelligencer* on 28 June 1819. See note 75 for his Alexandria and Georgetown notices.

72. That Pise was comfortable working in several media is clear from his notices. In the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* of 23 July 1811 he offers to teach drawing as it is taught in Italy," and a

notice in the *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, reads, "teaches drawing in black and red cloth [sic] likewise in water colors." (By "cloth" the printer undoubtedly meant "chalk," rather like the pastel used today.) For reference to painting in oils, see note 77. Pise also taught the French language in Annapolis, Baltimore, Alexandria, and Georgetown, according to his notices: see especially the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., 2 July 1812.

73. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 8 October 1801; *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, 17 June 1806.

74. In Alexandria Pise advertised in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette* on 12 June 1810, 25 May 1811, and 23 July 1811. On 2 July 1812 he advertised in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., that he was in Georgetown, around the time that the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room ceased to exist in Alexandria.

75. In 1822 in Baltimore, Pise and three of his young children died: Eliza, one year old, and Cornelia, eleven days old, within one hour on 30 August; Edward, five years old, on 12 September; and Louis Pise himself on 22 November. The Louis Henry Dielman and Francis Sidney Hayward Biographical File of Marylanders, Library of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

76. The reference to "Likenesses in oil" appeared in the *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 12 June 1810; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 22 June 1799.

77. Letter from M. Samatan, Marseilles, France, to Stephen Girard, Philadelphia, 30 July 1791, introducing Mr. Boudet, "a skilful painter." Stephen Girard Papers, Girard College, Philadelphia. See also Robert D. Schwartz, *The Stephen Girard Collection*, (Philadelphia: Girard College, 1982), 6. For more on Stephen Girard, see Marvin W. McFarland, *Stephen Girard: A Very Human Human Being*, (Philadelphia: Girard College, 1977), 1-18, and Harry Emerson Wildes, *Lonely Midas, the Story of Stephen Girard*, (New York/Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943).

78. Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 67-68; Rutledge, *Artists in Charleston*, 126, 187; *Richmond Portraits*, 241. The Bremen reference in Rutledge and elsewhere is clarified by a letter from Nicholas Boudet, Philadelphia, to Stephen Girard, Philadelphia, 2 November 1813, Girard Papers, Girard College, Philadelphia, 1813:373; the ship that carried the Boudet family from Bordeaux to Charleston sailed from Bremen, Germany.

79. First quoted in Nancy E. Richards, "A Most Perfect Resemblance at Moderate Prices, the Miniatures of David Boudon," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 1974, no. 9, 86.

80. Richards placed Boudon in Alexandria in 1801, 1804, and "mid 1806 when he was commissioned to draw the likenesses of Anthony Charles Cazenove and his family." These profiles in silverpoint and watercolor on vellum are in the collection of the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum.

81. *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, 3 October 1810.

82. *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, 7 August 1811.

83. *National Intelligencer*, Washington City, 16 June 1812.

84. *Virginia Herald*, Fredericksburg, 10 October 1812. In 1811 Nicholas Boudet's son, Dominic William Boudet, painted three sets of copies of portraits for General John Mason, who was living in 1811 on Anoloston Island (now T. Roosevelt Island). D. W. Boudet may have been involved at times in the Portrait and Miniature Painting Room, but we do know that in 1811 he was engaged in making copies of portraits painted by John Hesselius (1728-1778) of George Mason (1725-1792) and his wife Ann Eilbeck Mason (1734-1774), the originals of which are now lost. This information is confirmed by Susan Borchardt, curator of Gunston Hall, in a telephone conversation of 5 March 1993. D. W. Boudet's reputation today rests on these copies, as they are the only known portraits of Ann and George Mason. See *Our Town*, 23 and plates VII and IX.

85. Letter from Nicholas Boudet, Philadelphia to Stephen Girard, Philadelphia, 2 November 1813, Girard Papers, Girard College, Philadelphia. 1813:373. According to this letter, Boudet had studied naval engineering in France, and the ship he designed for Girard was actually built and subsequently modified. Thanks to Phyllis Abrams for providing this informative document. For more on Sally Bickham, Girard's Quaker housekeeper, see Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, 74–75, 136–47.

86. One indication of the value of money in 1811 Alexandria is contained in a letter from Elijah Fletcher, a teacher at a local academy, stating that he would pay his French teacher \$30. for tutoring him one or two hours an evening for a year. Martha von Briesen, *The Letters of Elijah Fletcher*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 29.

87. See *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Advertiser*, Maryland, 27 June 1818; for *Battle of North Point*, see *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Baltimore, 17 September 1819. For insolvency see *Baltimore Patriot and Merchantile Advertiser*, 22 February 1820 and *Baltimore Patriot and Merchantile Advertiser*, 25 March 1820. For more on Dominic William Boudet, see entries under both first names in Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 67–68.

88. *Alexandria Herald*, 11 November 1816 and *Alexandria Gazette, Commercial and Political*, 9 November 1816.

89. In the *Raleigh Register*, Raleigh, North Carolina, 17 November 1806, Schroeder states that he “has been employed for two years past in the Carolinas and for Fifteen Dollars (his price) he warrants a correct likeness.”

90. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, Georgia, 4 December 1807, *Augusta Chronicle*, Georgia, 30 July 1808, where he took the room formerly occupied by Mr. Cloriviere (see Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*, 132), a fellow miniaturist. *Augusta Herald*, Georgia, 12 January 1809 and *Augusta Chronicle*, Georgia, 14 January 1809. In Savannah in December 1807, specimens of his work could be seen at Marquand & Paulding's, silversmiths. See also *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, Savannah, Georgia, 21 March 1809. In New York City, Schroeder was listed as a miniature painter (sometimes as Schroder or Shroder) in David Longworth's city directory, and in 1814 in George Long's directory. See also George L. McKay, *A Register of Artists, Engravers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, Printers & Publishers in New York City, 1633–1820*, (New York: New York Public Library, 1942), The 1817–1818 sources are *The Savannah Republican*, 15 March 1817, wherein “Shroder” notes that he was dividing his time between Savannah and Augusta, and that he had “taken the room in the Exchange, formerly occupied by Mr. Earl.” *Alexandria Herald*, 21 August 1818 and *Alexandria Gazette & Daily Advertiser*, 25 August 1818.

91. *Richmond Enquirer*, Virginia, 20 November 1818, and *Richmond Commercial Compiler*, Virginia, 19 October 1818. See also *Richmond Portraits*, 243. For Canada, see J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 282; and Roslyn M. Rosenfeld, “An Index of Miniaturists and Silhouettists who worked in Montreal,” *The Journal of Canadian Art History*, 1981, vol. V, no. 2, 120–1.

92. Schroeder was listed as being in New York City in 1820 in the William A. Mercein directory, and in 1826 and 1829 was listed as a miniaturist at 158 Broadway in New York. *La Minerve*, Montreal, Quebec, 6 January 1831. It is this notice that states Schroeder was a native of Hanau.

93. See J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 1966), 117. One of these engravings by William Leney after Schroeder, at the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal, reads lower left: “Scroeder delt” and lower right: “Leney fec.”

94. See Marion Converse Bright, comp., *Early Georgia Portraits, 1715–1870*, National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Georgia. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 270, 288, for reproductions of Schroeder miniatures of Nathaniel A. Adams

(1800–46) and James McHenry (1788–1826). See also *An Exhibition of Miniatures Owned in South Carolina and Miniatures of South Carolinians Owned Elsewhere Painted before the Year 1860* (Charleston, S.C.: Carolina Art Association, Gibbes Memorial Art Gallery, 1936) for miniatures of Alexander Gillon, William Lennox Kirkland, and Mr. Thomson. The Gillon and the Kirkland miniatures contained the backing cards with Schroeder's name in 1936. These three miniatures are recorded at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, N. Y.

Portrait miniatures were treasured in the American south during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, as they were elsewhere. However, because of the high humidity, the survival rate has been less. To understand the importance and popularity of portrait miniatures, see the well-illustrated catalog by Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association*, (Charleston, S. C.: Carolina Art Association, Gibbes Art Gallery, 1984). For illustrations of portrait miniatures being worn as they were intended during this period, see M. J. Gibbs, "Precious Artifacts: Women's Jewelry in the Chesapeake, 1750–1799," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, May 1987, 52, 68, 73–74.

95. See Goodenough, *Memoirs of the Leonard, Thompson and Haskell Families*, 45, 51. Special thanks to Mrs. Richard M. Leonard for her invaluable assistance with James Manning Leonard.

96. *Ibid.*, 51; According to Mary Jean Blasdale, *Artists of New Bedford: A Biographical Dictionary*, in the *Old Colony Gazette*, New Bedford, 8 February 1811, James M. Leonard advertised as a "portrait painter" (New Bedford, Mass.: Published at the New Bedford Whaling Museum by the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1990), 120–1. This is one of the few printed references to Leonard.

97. *Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald*, Virginia, 31 January 1816.

98. *Virginia Herald*, Fredericksburg, 14 December 1816, 8 March 1817, and 21 January 1818. See also Simmons, "18th and 19th Century Artists Active in the Lower Shenandoah Valley," 86.

99. *Virginia Herald*, Fredericksburg, 21 January 1818.

100. *Alexandria Herald*, 30 November 1818; *Alexandria Gazette & Daily Advertiser*, 8 December 1818, 20 January 1819.

101. Patty Willis, "Jefferson County Portraits and Portrait Painters," *Magazine of the Jefferson County (West Virginia) Historical Society*, 6 (December 1940), 21–39.

102. Manning Leonard, *Memorial: Genealogical, Historical & Biographical of Solomon Leonard*, 233. Full citations for the two genealogies are in notes 50 and 52.

103. For a discussion of itinerant artists who became well-known painters, see Leah Lipton, "William Dunlap, Samuel F. B. Morse, John Wesley Jarvis, and Chester Harding: Their Careers as Itinerant Portrait Painters," *American Art Journal*, Summer 1981, 34–50. For Charles Loring Elliott, see Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists in America*, 210. For the most recent research about Ralph Earl, see Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, et al., *Ralph Earl: The Face of the Young Republic* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991) and Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, Ralph Earl as an Itinerant Artist: Pattern of Patronage," in Benes, ed., *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, 172–89.

104. Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: the Formative Years 1700–1860*, (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 248.

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Special thanks are due to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society for use of the J. Hall Pleasants "Studies in Maryland Painting files," and also to the staff members of the Library and the Manuscript collection. In Alexandria, the staff of the Lloyd House Library of Virginia History and Genealogy has been gracious and efficient with my requests, especially Sandra O'Keefe, Joyce McMullin, Joan Astorga and former staff members Yvonne Carignan and T. Michael Miller. My gratitude to all.

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Furniture of the North Carolina Roanoke River Basin in the Collection of Historic Hope Foundation

JOHN BIVINS, JR.

IN 1966, Historic Hope Foundation acquired the Bertie County, North Carolina, manor of David Stone (1770–1818). A five-bay two-story frame house with a two-story pedimented portico over a full basement, Hope Plantation was constructed between 1796 and 1803 (fig. 1). The house was built on a tract of 1,050 acres given to Stone in 1793 by his father, Zedekiah Stone, a native of Massachusetts who emigrated to North Carolina in the 1760s. David Stone eventually expanded his land holdings to over 8,000 acres; he owned 128 slaves at the time of his death. Educated at Princeton, Stone was admitted to the bar in 1790, and dedicated much of his energies to public service, serving as a superior court judge, a member of the North Carolina General Assembly, and a member of the United States Congress in both the House and the Senate. He was governor of North Carolina from 1808 to 1810.¹

Stone's interest in diverse subjects was reflected in his enormous library of 1,499 volumes, contained in bookshelves with glazed doors built into his second-floor study. Architecture obviously was one of Stone's avid pursuits. His house follows published designs of eighteenth-century British adaptations of classical urban Italian villas in the style of Palladio, even to the plan of the structure. The first-floor entry, for example, opens not upon the usual southern symmetrical



1. *Hope Plantation, Bertie County, North Carolina, 1796–1803. MRF-13,653.*

center passage, but rather a pair of saloons. The most formal rooms, including the library, were situated on the second floor, which is dominated by a twenty by thirty-foot drawing room that which opens onto the second-floor porch. Such urban sophistication of plan was not common in the mid-South. Other than the sixteen by twenty-inch lights of the window sash, little of the exterior of Hope reveals the early nineteenth-century date of the building. The interior, however, is largely finished in the neoclassical style in regard to



2. *The King-Bazemore House, Bertie County, North Carolina, 1763. Historic Hope Foundation (HHF) photograph.*

both architectural treatment—door and window architraves, cornices, chair rails, bases, and mantels—as well as the extensive employment of grained surfaces.

In addition, the Hope Plantation complex now includes a 1763 brick-ended three-bay gambrel-roof house built in Bertie County by William King; the structure, known as the King-Bazemore House, has been moved to a site adjacent to Hope and restored (fig. 2). Brick-ended frame dwellings are not uncommon in both southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, and they occur in

smaller numbers as far north as southern New England. In the lower Chesapeake, they made their appearance at least as early as the 1740s. The King house is the only such structure serving as a house museum in North Carolina, adding another architectural and socio-historical dimension to the interpretation of Hope Plantation. The two dwellings together contain a significant amount of furniture produced in southeastern Virginia and in the Albemarle region which comprises the northeastern sector of North Carolina. Particularly significant is the Foundation's collection of furniture made in the nearby Roanoke River basin; over sixty pieces in the collection, ranging from simple vernacular work to sophisticated urban styles, are attributable to this region. About half of Historic Hope Foundation's Roanoke River basin furniture, perhaps the most representative pieces, are illustrated here; nine of them, figures 17, 19 to 24, 30, and 31 were published previously by MESDA in the 1988 monograph *Furniture of Coastal North Carolina 1700–1820*.²

Establishing the specific boundaries of the Roanoke basin in terms of identifiable furniture production is less a matter of tracing the meandering route of the river itself than understanding the manner in which the river's watershed was settled (fig. 3). Within twenty-five miles of its mouth on the Albemarle Sound, just southwest of Edenton, the Roanoke expands into an extensive, marshy network of savannahs. Although surrounded by rich loamy soil well suited to agriculture, this lower expanse of the river was by no means counted the most habitable. It was the upper reaches of the river, just above the midpoint of its course from the Virginia line to the Sound, that afforded the most pleasant prospects to settlers. A huge bend in the river southeast of the small town of Halifax proved to have the richest soil in the region. At this point the river traversed the three counties with the greatest degree of agricultural wealth at the end of North Carolina's colonial period: Bertie, Northampton, and Halifax. Bordering these three counties, and enjoying somewhat less of the highly arable soil of the river's low ground, Hertford and Edgecombe counties also developed a substantial planter class before the



3. The Roanoke River basin area, from *The State of North Carolina* from the Best Authorities by Samuel Lewis, c. 1794 (engraved by Vallance). Philadelphia: Carey's Edition, Guthrie's Geography, May 1, 1795. The location of Hope Plantation is indicated by an arrow. MRF-2105.

middle of the eighteenth century. Although the three counties bordering the river saw the strongest growth of trades before the end of the eighteenth century, all five counties together developed an impressive seedbed of cabinetmaking by the 1760s. This had little or nothing to do with the development of towns in the region, for even by the end of the eighteenth century the central and western portions of the Albemarle region were characterized more by the lack of urban centers than the presence of them.

The region was densely populated by planters who, compared to the tobacco aristocracy of Virginia, would have been considered "middling." The upper Roanoke basin was settled during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and by the end of the colonial period second- and third-generation descendants had developed "many

elegant seats . . . on the margin of the Roanoke,” according to the New England visitor Elkanah Watson. Watson, an educated and sophisticated world traveler, had no political axes to grind in North Carolina, and his comment that “the society” of the upper Roanoke was “considered among the most polished and cultivated in the State” was no mere hyperbole.³ The most significant ties of commerce this region possessed lay far less in the tortuous and lengthy navigation from the mouth of the river and through the sounds and Ocracoke inlet to the Atlantic than in overland routes to Virginia. Norfolk was the keystone of this trade, and it profited handsomely from the produce of the upper Roanoke basin that traversed both the eastern and western routes around the massive Great Dismal Swamp.

Most importantly, it was largely through these routes of commerce that the Roanoke basin became increasingly attractive to individuals who by the early nineteenth century were perceived by one frustrated census-taker to be “Summer Agricultorists and Winter Mechanics.”⁴ These were farmer-artisans, men enticed to the region not only by the presence of trade patronage, but also by a vast amount of cheap acreage that represented the likeliest means to fortune. Typical of these was Thomas Sharrock, who in 1756 had been apprenticed to Richard Taylor of Norfolk to “Learn the Trade of a Carpenter & Joiner.” Sharrock completed his indenture in 1762, and shortly thereafter was in Northampton County, where by 1765 he had acquired a modest parcel of land on a tributary of the Roanoke and married Bathsheba Daughtry, the daughter of a prominent Quaker who also was a cabinetmaker. Of the eleven sons born to this couple, at least six joined their father in the trade. Sharrock enjoyed extensive patronage amongst the gentry of the area, not the least of whom was David Stone. Before his death in 1802, Sharrock had moved to Bertie County, where he still operated a flourishing cabinet trade. The contents of his shop included an extensive listing of hand tools, a lathe, four workbenches, hardware, and both tools and materials for carrying on, in addition to cabinetmaking, house

joiner's work and the services of a wheelwright. The balance of his trade inventory was that of a small planter, including four slaves, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and the produce of his fields.⁵

The essentially rural nature of the Roanoke River basin that encouraged the growth of a farmer-artisan class by no means dictated the production of simple rural styles. The planters of the region not only understood urban fashion, they could afford it, and the artisans who emigrated to the region were largely conversant in such styles. During the 1765–1800 period, which saw the most significant growth of the region, over 130 cabinetmakers plied their trade between Pasquotank and Warren counties. During this time over thirty of them, not counting apprentices, were working in the five counties that converged at the great bend of the Roanoke River. Most of these cabinetmakers were located within a fifteen-mile radius centering on the river where it defines the southeastern corner of Halifax County. This density of artisans in a rural area is comparable to urban regions of the lower Chesapeake. Between 1745 and 1775, for example, twenty-eight cabinetmakers were known to have been working in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties in Virginia.⁶

In terms of surviving furniture, it is evident that the cabinetmaking trade in the Roanoke basin was strongest during the last decade of the colonial period and the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but there is substantial evidence of furniture production in the region before 1750. Throughout the eighteenth century, cabinetmakers in the region, like Thomas Sharrock, tended to be diversified. A large percentage of them owned tools such as flooring dogs and framing squares, indicating that they not only offered the standard production of rural shop joiners such as sash, wainscot, and doors, but also engaged directly in the building trades. Most of them owned lathes, and these were put to use not only for table legs, bed posts, and the posts and base rounds of chairs, but also balusters and newels.

The considerable emphasis upon regional furniture in the collection at Hope Plantation is not merely the result of convenient local

purchases, but instead represents a concentrated effort on the part of Historic Hope Foundation to present its buildings in the manner in which they would have been seen during their time. This philosophy of interpretation therefore brought about the long-standing but difficult goal of locating and acquiring furniture that most realistically represents the type of work that David Stone would have commissioned from artisans working in the region where he lived.

Stone was familiar with a broad range of early nineteenth-century fashions, originating from New England to the Chowan basin and west to Raleigh. He owned Massachusetts furniture, no doubt imported by Edenton merchants, since that small port was scarcely more than twenty miles east of the plantation. About the same distance to the northwest of Stone's manor, however, lay the center of the most diverse cabinetmaking skills in the state during the early nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1810, at least twenty-six cabinetmakers worked in the Roanoke River basin counties of Halifax, Bertie, Hertford, and Northampton, all readily accessible to David Stone. During the same period, Chowan County, where Edenton was located, supported no more than a dozen cabinetmaking shops. The per capita wealth of the Roanoke planters ensured that the production of Roanoke basin cabinet shops was not only substantial, but among the most fashionable of the Lower Chesapeake. Individuals like Stone therefore played an important role in the strength of the Roanoke River basin school of cabinetmaking, which is precisely why the presence of representative work from this region is deemed critical to realistic interpretation at Hope. For that reason, it seems appropriate to present a sampling of Historic Hope's collection here.

The ubiquitous "six-board" chest was the standard production of both house joiners and "shop joiners" or cabinetmakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In the form of its base, one chest at Hope (fig. 4) represents the development of a regional style that very likely was present in both the Chowan and Roanoke river basins shortly after 1700. The bottom of the chest is notched to fit around

the sides, and its projecting portions run with a cyma molding. The sides (fig. 4a), which are butt-jointed to the front and back, are similarly notched in order to provide a projecting front foot (the right foot is split) that is the equivalent of an architectural corbel, cut with a simple ovolo and cyma profile. This type of corbelled base, which has no known stylistic parallel north of the Albemarle region, occurs on chests found in both Gates and Bertie counties. This example has a history of descent in the Speight family, which in fact lived in both counties. The top of this chest is attached with snipe hinges; the use of a heavy thumb molding only at the front edge is an early detail.



4. Chest, Bertie County, North Carolina, 1720–1740, yellow pine throughout. HOA 22¹/₄" , WOA 50⁵/₈" , DOA 17⁵/₈" , HHF accession 95.4.10. Unless otherwise noted, photographs of furniture are by David Wesbrook.



4a. Side view of figure 4.



5. Chest, western Bertie County, 1730–1740, yellow pine throughout. HOA 24 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", WOA 55 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", DOA 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". HHF accession 92.14.1.

Most such pine chests were painted; this piece has a light gray or "stone" coating probably dating from the early nineteenth century.

Only slightly later than the preceding example, the chest shown in figure 5 has rabbeted rather than butt-jointed front and rear boards. Unlike New England examples, the bottom is exposed, and therefore represents a simplified version of the corbelled bases with extended bottom boards like that on the previous chest. The considerable width of this chest, over four and one-half feet, is not unusual for the region.

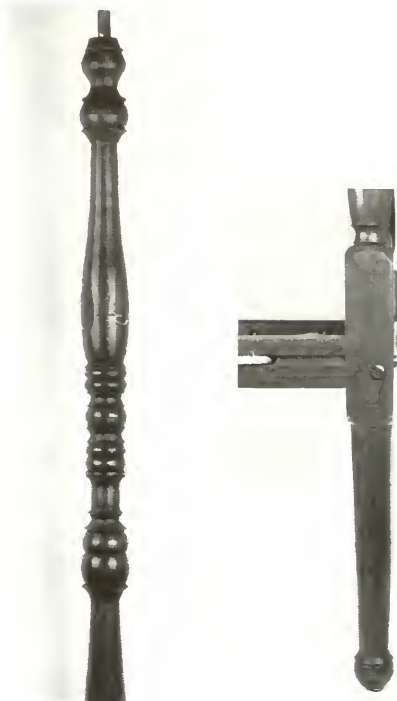
One bedstead, the only piece of furniture illustrated here that cannot be attributed with certainty to the Roanoke River basin, nevertheless represents the sort that could have seen use in a wealthy



6. *Bed, southern coastal plain, 1700-1730, black walnut throughout. HOA 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", WOA 53 $\frac{3}{16}$ ", LOA 75 $\frac{3}{16}$ ". HHF accession 86.34.1.*

Roanoke basin household during the first quarter of the eighteenth century (fig. 6). Very likely representing the earliest known American tall-post bed, both the height of the posts—originally over seven feet—and the use of walnut throughout suggest a southern origin, possibly tidewater Virginia or the North Carolina Albemarle.⁷ The early date of this bed is evident in the style of the post turnings (fig. 6a), which amalgamate classical vase and scotia turnings with quasi-architectural compressed balls that reflect Mannerist turnings of the seventeenth century. The double tier of vases, separated by a series of compressed balls, sharp-edged fillets, and neck turnings, is a stylistic composition parallel to the back-stile turnings of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century caned and leather-back chairs from both Britain and northern urban centers, particularly Boston and New York.⁸

Although the largely undisturbed surfaces of this bed show clear evidence of the turner's gouge, the finish and attention to detail is exceptional. The outer corners of all the rails are struck with ovolo moldings (fig. 6b), as are the edges of the triangular headboard. The inner corners of the rails are chamfered. The bed originally was held together only by its unpinned mortise-and-tenon joints and the roping; bed bolts were added in the early nineteenth century. The footboard appears to be an early addition, but its mortises have not been compared with



6a. Detail of upper post of figure 6.

6b. Detail of leg and foot of figure 6.



7. Dining table, Roanoke River basin, 1750–1790, walnut with yellow pine inner frame and ash fly frames. HOA 2- $\frac{7}{16}$ ", WOA 48 $\frac{1}{16}$ ", DOA 16 $\frac{3}{16}$ ". HHF accession 90.2.23.

those of the headboard for verification. The posts have lost eight to twelve inches of height at the top.

Dining tables, often described as "square" in early probate inventories owing to their squared rather than rounded leaves, generally were made in relatively standard sizes; the table shown in figure 7 has an open length of four feet. Tables with turned legs and "round" feet, as they were called in the eighteenth century, began to appear in southeastern Virginia during the first quarter of the century. Many of the earlier examples had round or oval tops, a stylistic continuation of the form of the earlier gateleg table, but by the 1730s most of them were fitted with rectangular tops. This better suited

dining needs in large households, where matched sets of “square” dining tables were drawn together. Also by the 1730s, turned rather than carved feet became the norm in the lower Chesapeake. With turned feet over tall coved discs, the feet of this table are stylistically related to Williamsburg work associated with the Anthony Hay shop, although the table is thought to have been made in Halifax or Northampton County. The hinge segments of the fly frames are cut with a radius, unlike the flat hinge segments seen on many Virginia tables. Tables such as this example are difficult to date. While they were introduced early, the conservative tastes of the lower Chesapeake assured the long persistence of the Baroque style, reflected in the turned-leg, turned foot leg form.

The apparent simplicity of the vernacular British style of lower Chesapeake chairs is deceiving, since the understated grace of these pieces is the result of considerable skill on the part of their makers. Proportions, angles, curves, and surface shaping required subtle integration for a successful product. Construction is far from simple, since virtually all of the joinery, with the exception of the front rails, had to be fitted on a bias. Chair construction depended heavily upon pattern work, such as the “parcel Joiners patterns” inventoried in the shop of Northampton County cabinetmaker Thomas White, who also owned an “Iron Chear Clamp” which Thomas Sharrock’s son George bought for £1.10.0 in the 1789 sale.⁹ Such shop patterns were used for laying out crests, splats, splat shoes, and both the front and side profiles of back stiles, which is precisely why chairs must be studied from every side if associative study is the object.

Like the many turned-leg, turned-foot dining tables produced in the Roanoke basin, side chairs can be very difficult to date since early styles persisted until near the end of the century in this somewhat isolated region. Seating furniture in the Chinese taste—that is, with square legs and a stretcher between the front legs—was common in Britain by the 1740s, and very likely was produced at least by the mid-1730s. Every aspect of such chairs was an adaptation of oriental design, including, on the chair in figure 8, the shape of the crest and



8. Side chair, one of an existing pair, Halifax County, 1750–90, walnut with yellow pine slip seat. HOA 36³/₈, WOA 19¹⁵/₁₆, DOA 18¹/₂. HHF accession 90.2.10.

8a. Side view of figure 8.

8b. Rear view of figure 8.

the profile of the splat. The lobate piercings are chronologically associated with the reign of George II (1727–1760). Like virtually all Roanoke basin chairs, this pair is of walnut, and the pinned mortise-and-tenon joints of the seat frame are not reinforced with glue blocks. A vernacular approach to construction is found in the joinery of the splat and shoe (fig. 8a), where the splat is tenoned directly to the seat rail and the shoe fitted around it, a solution normally ap-

plied to chairs made with upholstery “stuffed over the rails” rather than attached to a “loose seat” such as this example has.¹⁰ The chair shown in figure 9 has its splat conventionally seated into the shoe, and the splat tenons are not pinned at top and bottom in the manner of the previous example (fig. 9a). Demonstrating a British stylistic tradition that also occurs in parts of New England, in New York City, and in southeastern Virginia, the front profile of the rear legs of this chair (fig. 9b) makes a break below the seat, continuing in a



9. Side chair, Roanoke River basin, 1750–1790, walnut with yellow pine slip seats. HOA 37 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", WOA 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", DOA 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". HHF accession 77.1.1.

9a. Side view of figure 9.

9b. Rear view of figure 9.



10. *Side chair, Bertie County, 1750–1790, walnut with yellow pine slip seat, HOA 37¹/₄", WOA 21¹³/₁₆", DOA 19", HHF accession 80.2.1.*

straight line to the floor. The same is true of the rear legs of the previous chair (fig. 8b).

With the somewhat less successful flow of its crest and back stiles, a similar chair nevertheless was finished with the full range of details that one might expect to find on a Roanoke basin chair (fig. 10). Like the previous chair, the seat rails and front legs are run with an ovolo molding, but here the same details are carried to the outside edges of the stretchers as well. The inner edges of the back stiles, bottom of the crest, and outer edges of the splat are visually integrated with a flush bead. Also occurring on tables of the region, this extensive beading is found as well on furniture made in Williamsburg and southside Virginia. A simple but effective detail, this bead added to the expense of the chair since it had to be sunk with a scratch-stock rather than run with a plane, a time-consuming task. Typical of many Roanoke basin chairs, the splat shoe overhangs the

front of the rear seat rail, and in this instance—not usual to the area—is supported by glue blocks.¹¹

Standard corner chairs more often than not were listed as “smoking chairs” in the probate inventories of southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. This example (fig. 11), however, would have qualified as a “close stool corner chair,” a description found in some southern coastal inventories. This example has deeply shaped “vanity” seat rails that are not usual to North Carolina corner chairs. The turned legs are also unusual for the region; they are a feature more expected of similar chairs made in northern New England. Like several other corner chairs with a Halifax County history, however, this example has features associated with a Virginia chairmaking tradition extending from Williamsburg to Petersburg. Rather

than a coved shoe, this chair has flat strips notched to fit around the splats. A detail common to close-stool chairs attributed to Peter Scott of Williamsburg is the lack of a rabbet in the front rails for the slip seat. This allowed the seat to be readily removed, no doubt a great convenience in a dark bedchamber. The joinery of the chair is otherwise conventional for the Roanoke basin; the arm halves, for example, join in the center with a shiplap held together by the tenon of the rear arm support.

A compelling mystery in the study of American furniture forms is the cellarer, which in the eighteenth century was variously described as a case of bottles, brandy case, and gin case, the last no doubt since virtually all of them were partitioned to fit mold-blown tapering square Dutch gin bottles, which could be used to store any sort of spirits. The introduction of the case of bottles on stand indeed appears to have depended upon the 1760s appearance of these gin bottles in the transatlantic trade. The mystery lies in the origin of this form, that is, a partitioned case loose-fitted to a frame so that the case readily could be transported about the house. Such bottle cases were made in southeastern Virginia, where the earliest known example indeed was produced, but the largest occurrence of the form is in the Roanoke River basin of Carolina. In North Carolina, no cellarets have been found that can be attributed to the Chowan River basin, of which Edenton was the cultural hub. They do occur in backcountry North Carolina and as far west as middle Tennessee; in both areas, the presence of the form almost certainly represented transmission via migration from the Roanoke basin and southside



11. *Corner chair, Halifax County, 1750–1790, walnut with yellow pine rear seat supports. HOA 31¹/₈", WOA 25". HHF accession 74.4.4.*



12. *Bottle case, Roanoke River basin, 1780–1800, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA 40 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", WOA 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", DOA 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". HHF accession 86.34.4.*



13. *Bottle case, Halifax County, 1780–1800, walnut with white pine drawer frame and bottom, yellow pine drawer supports and guides. HOA 34 $\frac{1}{16}$ ", WOA 19", DOA 14". HHF accession 81.5.1.*

Virginia. There seems to have been no production of bottle cases on stands in eastern centers such as Baltimore and Charleston; some examples attributed to such centers in fact have proven to be North Carolina work. The consumption of spirits, of course, was a favored pastime everywhere. In the early 1730s, William Byrd noted eastern North Carolinians' penchant for tippling, observing that "Strong Drink" was obtained there "with so much Difficulty, that they are never guilty of the Sin of Suffering it to Sour upon their Hands."¹²

The cellaret illustrated in figure 12, with its flush-fitted framed top, blind-mitered dovetailing, and very subtly tapered legs, is a sophisticated adaptation of the Chinese taste, augmented with the addition of classical moldings: an ovolo on the top, a cove and ovolo atop the frame, and an astragal at the bottom of the frame. It was originally fitted with pierced brackets at the juncture of its legs and frame. The elegant but austere top is a form referred to as a "tea chest top" in British and American cabinetmakers' books of prices of the late eighteenth century. The mixing slide in the center of the frame is common to many Roanoke basin cases of bottles, although some have drawers as well, particularly during the Neoclassical period. The brasses are original, the large escutcheon complementing the vibrant crotch figure of the facade, which follows into the front fascia of the lid, having been cut from the same board.

At least nine bottle cases from the same shop that produced another example (fig. 13) have been recorded, yet no other case furniture attributable to the same cabinetmaker has been observed. Typical of this artisan's work are the bold classical moldings of the framed top, the employment of an H-plan stretcher system with the dovetail joint of the center stretcher exposed, and, most particularly, the use of contrasting cockbeading on the bottom of the top framing and around the drawer. Such accents began to appear on Roanoke basin furniture by the end of the colonial period and saw extensive use during the last decade of the eighteenth century through about 1810. Maple, dogwood, holly, and elm are known to have been used for these details. Like most bottle cases, this example is partitioned (fig.



13a. Detail of the interior of figure 13, with a Dutch gin bottle.

13a) to accommodate twelve bottles. The partitions are tenoned to the case sides. Unlike the preceding example, the frame molding of this piece does not return at the rear; the case is held in place by a wooden "turn" fixed to the rear frame with a woodscrew, which is typical of the work of this shop. What is unusual for the Roanoke basin is the use of white pine as a secondary wood. Imported from New England, it was used extensively in the Neoclassical furniture of North Carolina port towns, but seldom made its way very far inland, even on a navigable river.

Closely aligned with cabinetmaking styles in Norfolk during the last quarter of the eighteenth century are a sizeable group of Roanoke basin case pieces, almost invariably of walnut, which demonstrate the taste for conservative forms in the lower Chesapeake. Like a number of Norfolk chests of drawers, this example (fig. 14) could be mistaken for Delaware Valley work, with its robust cyma top molding sur-

mounting a cove, as well as its slender fluted quarter columns. These details, however, are imbedded in British stylistic traditions which are parallel to the Philadelphia style. Little Philadelphia furniture was imported to coastal North Carolina before the early nineteenth century, and even then, both Boston and New York eclipsed exports from Pennsylvania. There is little evidence that cabinetmakers from Philadelphia emigrated to eastern Virginia or North Carolina. As a consequence, the influence of the Delaware Valley, although very strong in the backcountry South, is virtually nonexistent in Chesapeake styles south of Virginia's Northern Neck. This chest of drawers reveals a Chesapeake vernacular in its proportions, having a generous width of almost forty-two inches. Its columns show a touch of



14. Chest of drawers, Bertie County, 1775-95, walnut with white pine drawer frames and yellow pine dustboards. HOA $33\frac{1}{4}$ ", WOA $41\frac{3}{4}$ ", DOA $20\frac{1}{4}$ ". HHF accession 80.10.1. The feet of this chest of drawers are replacements based upon the feet on other related case pieces from the same region.

naïveté in the turnings of the bases and capitals, which are precisely the same. In other words, the cabinetmaker has ignored conventional classical architecture by utilizing base turnings, complete with scotias and torus turnings, where a capital turning should be. The delicate coved bed molding above the feet is much like the bed moldings favored by John Selden and other Norfolk cabinetmakers. Typical of the region, this piece has full-depth dustboards which are full-bottom, that is, the full thickness of the drawer rails. Like the case of bottles illustrated in fig. 13, this piece utilizes white pine as a secondary wood, unusual for the Roanoke basin, but certainly available via the river trade. New England white pine was esteemed for its easy-working qualities, which contrasted with hard yellow pine's exceptionally dense latewood—the darker striations of the grain or annular growth rings—which made planing and joinery more difficult, if exceedingly strong. White pine was imported into northeastern North Carolina as early as 1721.¹¹

An even stronger regional vernacular is evident in the virtually square proportions of this chest of drawers (fig. 15), which lacks some of the sophistication of the preceding example, particularly in the ranking of its drawers. Although the drawers uniformly increase in height by approximately one-third as they descend to the base, the bottom drawer is so tall that the facade of the piece would have benefitted from the incorporation of five rather than four drawers. This piece, however, is not without stylish details. Typical of most Roanoke basin chests of drawers, it is fitted with a secondary or "show" top that conceals the dovetailed case joinery. The thick case-stile facings, which conceal the half-dovetailed joinery of the drawer rails and drawer supports, are mitred at the top and bottom rails. Only a few other case pieces from the region share this nicety, but the cove-and-ovolo bed mold used on this example is typical of the Roanoke basin. Here the fillet of the bed mold is particularly tall, lending much the appearance of an architectural plinth. This chest of drawers shares both this detail and the form of its feet with a sizeable group of presses from one Roanoke basin shop (fig. 18). The



15. *Chest of drawers, Halifax County, 1785–1810, walnut with yellow pine throughout. HOA 42½", WOA 41", DOA 21". HHF accession 82.4.1.*

close similarity of drawer construction indicate that both pieces likely are from the same shop, although none of the presses have mitred stile facings.

In a great sense, the work of various members of the Sharrock family, particularly that of Thomas Sharrock (c. 1741–1802) and his son George (1765–1814), represents the most typical range of Roanoke basin furniture styles of the 1765–1800 period. Of over twenty-three Sharrock-attributed pieces known, virtually all can be characterized by a small-urban “neat and plain” British aesthetic that typifies the entire lower Chesapeake region during the period. In the case of the Sharrock production, the exemplary quality of the join-



16. *Desk, Northampton County, attributed to Thomas Sharrock, 1770-1790, walnut with yellow pine throughout. HOA 47¹/₈" , WOA 44¹/₂" , DOA 23¹/₂". HHF accession 80.9.1.*

ery of these pieces is the very personification of "neat," which to patrons of the time meant that construction was of the highest quality. One example of the attention to hidden detail that the Sharrock shops regularly employed is the blind-mitred dovetails joining the ogee feet of this desk (fig. 16), a rare and difficult form of construction. Like the feet on the preceding chest of drawers, the inside profile is turned in, a detail decidedly in the Chinese taste that appeared in Britain by the 1730s. The same form of foot occurs in both the

Massachusetts Bay area and Philadelphia, but far less commonly than in the Roanoke basin. Typical of all of the case furniture by the Sharrocks, this desk has three-quarter-depth full-bottom dustboards. Its straightforward interior is virtually identical to a related desk and bookcase (fig. 17). All of the known Sharrock pieces, consisting of corner cupboards, presses, chests of drawers, desks, and desks and bookcases, appear to date before Thomas Sharrock's death. It is virtually impossible to separate the work of Thomas Sharrock and that of his son George, who signed and dated a chest of drawers in 1787; George apparently moved to the eastern Piedmont of North Carolina before 1802.

In addition to George, five of Thomas Sharrock's sons are thought to have been associated with both the cabinetmaking and house joiner's trades. Bryan (1767–1795), James (1773–d.c. 1799), Samuel (1774–1819), Steven (b. 1778), and Thomas, Jr. (1767–1790) all appear to have been apprenticed to their father. In 1801, Steven was working with Thomas, Sr., at Hope Plantation, possibly engaged in finish carpentry; by 1820 he had evidently moved to Tennessee.¹⁴ While no furniture has been attributed to any of the Sharrock sons other than George, it is probable that this desk and bookcase was made by one of them, probably Steven or Samuel. The form of the broken-srolled pediment, including the intri-



17. *Desk and bookcase, Halifax or Northampton County, 1785–1800, walnut with yellow pine and walnut. HOA 105¹/₈", WOA 47⁵/₈", DOA 23". HHF accession L93.5.1.*



17a. Detail of rosette
on figure 17.

cate gouge-cut rosettes (fig. 17a), along with the beaded flush panels of the bookcase, the format of the interior with its plain prospect flanked on each side by four pigeonholes and a double rank of drawers, and the general proportions fall well within the usual Sharrock design repertoire. The pediment has an enclosed head or "bonnet," a feature rare south of Philadelphia with the exception of southeastern Virginia and the Roanoke basin of North Carolina. Various stylistic and technological features, however, depart from the Sharrock norm. The tympanum openings, although geometrically similar to Sharrock pediments, are larger. The bookcase bed molding is attached to the bookcase, and the bookcase rests on the desk rather than on a molded plinth usual to Sharrock work. The bed molding of the desk is run as an integral part of the bottom

framing rather than being applied separately. The framing of the bookcase doors is pinned at each joint, and the drawer rails and accompanying dustboards are fitted into dadoes run the depth of the case, and faced off with veneer on the case stiles rather than being set into blind half-dovetailed dadoes characteristic of work attributed to Thomas and George Sharrock. The finial is missing, and the feet have been replaced; they probably were similar to those of the desk in figure 16.

One of eight known pieces from one shop, consisting of six china presses, a press-on-chest, and an inlaid stand, the press in figure 18 is typical of the shop's work in its employment of four drawers situated over a serving or writing slide, with flat-paneled doors in the base. Intended for the storage of table ware, presses such as this were a common product of Roanoke basin cabinet shops, but are less fre-

quently encountered in southside Virginia. Wealthy planter and Revolutionary patriot Willie Jones built an impressive tripartite frame house, the Grove, in Halifax County in the late eighteenth century. Although it fell into ruin by the 1950s, at the time of Jones's death in 1801 it was sumptuously furnished. It remained so as late as 1838, when the inventory of Jones's son, Willie W., revealed located in the "Passage" a "China press" filled with a "Set Gilt china" along with "2 broken Set do." and 104 other assorted articles of ceramic ware. Even at this late date, versatility in the use of rooms was still evident in the Roanoke basin. While the china press stood in the wide passage of the house—a space no doubt used on occasion for dining—the sideboard, containing all the Jones family silver and stemware, stood in the "Sitting Room," and "2 Dining Tables & Ends" along with two "Knife cases" filled with flatware occupied the "Big Room" across the passage.¹⁶ Although made with glazed doors, which were more expensive than paneled units, the doors of presses such as this not infrequently were fitted inside with fabric to conceal rather than display the contents of the upper case. This apparent anomaly has been verified in a number of instances by the presence of early nail holes. The pediment and feet of this press are replacements, the pediment based on other examples from the same shop, all but one of which have delicate dentil cours-



18. *China press, Halifax County, 1785–1800, walnut with yellow pine, HOA 103½", WOA 47½", DOA 19 1/16", HHF accession 90.2.5.*



19. *Secretary with press, Halifax or Hertford County, 1785-1795, walnut with yellow pine and oak. HOA 110¹/₄", WOA 45¹/₄", DOA 20". HHF accession 72.11.2.*

es characterized by a convex profile of the top of the cuts separating each dentil.

Several pieces owned by Historic Hope Foundation are from the shop of the prolific but still anonymous "WH" cabinetmaker who is thought to have been a German artisan who settled in the Roanoke basin during the time of the Revolutionary War. Provenances for this cabinetmaker's furniture, of which thirty-two pieces have been identified, center around southeastern Halifax, northwestern Bertie, and southwestern Hertford counties; it appears to span the period from about 1785 to 1805. A roundel in the tympanum of a secretary-press (fig. 19) is cut with the initials "CRT," believed to be those of one of the cabinetmaker's patrons. One case of bottles from the same shop has the initials of another customer, but eight of the known pieces display the initials "WH," most of them on a tympanum, and these are considered to be the initials of the maker. A desk with a fully carved fall-board in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has a prospect door inlaid with these initials and the date "August the 5 1789." The inlay in each instance is a white putty-like material filling incised cuts in the surface. The fill, at least on one example tested, is composed of whiting (chalk), a small amount of white lead, and a trace of sulfur, with a binder composed of wax, a natural resin, and possibly linseed oil. This mixture apparently was familiar in the German lands, where it was called *Wachseinglasen*.¹⁰ The resin in this paste evidently provided adhesive qualities, since the delicate incising

of the initials and borders is not undercut to retain the material. “WH” effectively used this white inlay in conjunction with low-relief carved leafwork and shell-like patterns, all geometrically composed with a compass, and ebonized after the carving was completed. This created a vibrant Baroque interplay of color between the white inlay, blackened carving, and the reddish varnish surface of the walnut.

Although evidently trained in the Franco-German style, as a blockfront desk in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts asserts with considerable Louis XV verve, “WH” adapted to the British mode of the Roanoke basin without giving up stylistic details that make his work unique among southern furniture. The lacy flamelike finials, whirling-star rosette inlays with center roundels of decoratively turned bone, and squared inset quarter columns are but a few of the details, in addition to ebonized carving and *wachseinglasen*, that this artisan employed as striking departures from the understated norm of lower Chesapeake furniture. Unusual on this secretary is the press standing atop it, which, unlike the bookcase that occupies the same space on other American writing furniture of the period, is the full depth of the lower case. With this depth, and the plate grooves planed into the shelves, there is no doubt that the upper case was intended as a china press, not a bookcase. Two other “WH” pieces with the same format have been recorded, one with linen trays concealed behind cabinet doors below the secretary drawer. Usual to these pieces is the serving slide situated between a pair of bolection moldings at the top of the desk. However in figure 19 the ogee feet, unlike all of the other feet found on “WH” pieces, have an outward curve to their inside profile.

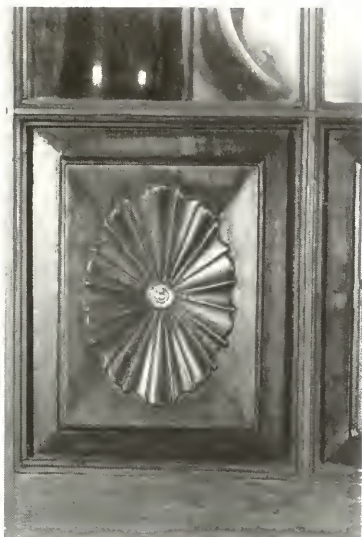
With even more elaborate ebonized carving of its tympanum, the roundel above the doors of a corner cupboard (fig. 20) bear the initials “WH,” here rendered in the style of a “round” hand. It is evident that this cabinetmaker either owned a book of cyphers or at least was conversant in the design of them, for he used various lettering forms more typical of engraved work than furniture. Some of his



20. Cupboard, Halifax or Hertford County, 1785–1795, walnut with yellow pine and walnut. HOA 110", WOA 54³/₄", HHF accession 75.5.1.

tympana are even more elaborate than this glorious example, and are replete with spreading eagles, Masonic iconography, and even grinning demon's heads. All of the cupboards examined were painted white inside, with bright red edging of the shelves. The panels that take the place of what otherwise would have been glazed lights at the bottoms of the upper doors are a standard convention of furniture made in the Roanoke basin and east to Edenton, but here (fig. 20a) the cabinetmaker has added fluted and gad-rooned ellipses, the ebonized carving set off with turned bone roundels in the centers, held in place with brass escutcheon pins. The same motif is repeated on a grander scale in the lower cabinet. Although these carved elements appear to mimic Neoclassical paterae, in reality they are far more akin to similar ornament found on Germanic ceramic tile and cast-iron parlor stoves of the mid-eighteenth century and earlier.¹⁷ These shell-like ellipses reflect the essentially Baroque curves of the pediment above.

In a sideboard from the "WH" shop (fig. 21), the combination of the late Baroque style of the upper case with the Neoclassical form of the legs should be no surprise in view of the Teutonic penchant for clinging to earlier fashions. The blocked plan, however, is a remarkable contrast with most American furniture of the period, paralleled only by a unique group of early nineteenth-century tables from the Connecticut River valley. The blocking plan of the side bays of this sideboard (fig. 21a) follows that of the blockfront desk at the Virginia Mu-



20a. Detail of carved panel
on figure 20.

seum of Fine Arts mentioned above. “WH” repeated this design in more than facades. The profile of the upper lights of the corner cupboard illustrated in figure 20 is a diminutive version of the same plan, and the profiles of the arched stretchers of a demilune table and a case of bottles from the “WH” shop utilize the same design. The work of a second artisan is evident in the construction of this sideboard, especially the drawers, which do not have the walnut drawer frames and flush-fitted bottoms usual to work of “WH.” Several other pieces from the shop also have similar variations, not unusual in an establishment that quite obviously was successful and could make use of one or more journeymen. In this instance, the second hand in the “WH” shop must have overcome the master’s obvious aversion to glued joints, since the cored drawers and cabinet doors are conventionally joined and covered on the exterior with sheet veneer. This stands in considerable contrast to the bizarre con-



21. Sideboard, Halifax or Hertford County, 1795-1805, walnut with yellow pine throughout. HOA 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", WOA 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", DOA 23 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". HHF accession 92.1.1. The face veneer on the center drawer has been replaced.



21a. Detail of drawer of figure 21.



struction of the demilune table mentioned above, which also has tapering legs, but its skirt laminates are held fast with a dozen rivets piercing the entire stack, without a drop of glue needed.

A type of six-legged dining table common to southeastern Virginia and the Albemarle region of North Carolina follows one of the standard British designs which for some reason was not popular in the North. These tables employ a fixed leg in the center of each end skirt and a pair of fly legs on each side, which would seem to represent a plan that offers stability to tables of considerable size. That indeed is true, but North Carolina tables that do not exceed four feet in length have been recorded with this leg system. Turned-leg turned-foot tables of this plan have been recorded in Virginia, dating as early as the 1750s. In North Carolina, they have been encountered with turned legs and claw feet, straight or "Marlborough" legs, and tapering Neoclassical legs. The example in figure 22 is somewhat

22. *Dining table, Northampton County, 1790–1810, walnut with yellow pine. HOA 2³/₄"*, WOA 48", DOA 17". HHF accession 73.14.1. MRF-2465.

transitional in nature in that the tapered legs are chamfered in the manner of a straight-leg table, somewhat of a Lower Chesapeake reminder that tapered forms actually were avidly incorporated into the late Rococo style. The same might be said of the case of bottles illustrated in figure 12. The third or 1762 edition of Chippendale's *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* illustrates several applications of what was known as a "term foot" in the trade. This sort of "foot," which, in the trade vernacular, meant the entire leg, was derived from the Graeco-Roman *therm* or *term*, a tapering pedestal surmounted by a bust or figure.

A relatively small amount of furniture fully in the Neoclassical style has survived from the Roanoke basin, and, for that matter, from the entire Albemarle region. There are several reasons for this; one of them was taste. The same conservatism that encouraged cabinetmakers' production of 1750-style chairs until past 1790, for example, resisted the wholesale adaptation of Neoclassical form. As a result, we often find Roanoke basin furniture such as a china press that makes no more of a nod to the new taste than perhaps the addition of string inlay to drawers and cabinet doors. The rest of the piece remained solidly within the architectural mainstream of an earlier time. Despite his education and wealth, David Stone himself felt more comfortable with a manor whose facades were solidly rooted in the old classicism rather than Neoclassicism. But eastern Carolinians, particularly in the port towns, and later upriver, did at length embrace the stylistic inevitable. The regional cabinet trade, however, suddenly was faced with a diverse set of new technological problems to master, such as making cored structures, cutting and applying face veneers, and producing string, bundled, and figural inlays. In the late eighteenth century, many such functions became the domain of urban specialists who could produce work faster and cheaper. And the cities which developed the greatest degree of specialization—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—could ship furniture to North Carolina and outsell the local products. Furniture with even simple triple-stringing such as the small side table in figure 23, then, is a rarer survival of regional work than earlier styles.

The Roanoke River basin, due to the size of its professional cabinet trade, was not a region which produced much of what today is considered "country" work. That is, furniture made primarily by part-time artisans not "brought up" in the trade, working without the benefit of apprenticeship to a skilled workman. Simple furniture indeed was produced in the region, but it nevertheless shows its pedigree, whether from the shop of a cabinetmaker, made on the premises by a master carpenter, or produced in the workshop of a turner skilled at making the posts of chairs and beds. The chest illus-



23. *Side table, western Bertie County, 1790–1810, walnut throughout. HOA 28³/₄"*, WOA 29⁷/₈", DOA 20¹/₄". HHF accession 77.1.4. MRF-12,045.



24. *Chest, Hertford County, 1780–1800, yellow pine throughout. HOA 20⁷/₈", WOA 43³/₈", DOA 18¹¹/₁₆". HHF accession 73.5.7.*

trated in figure 24, which is painted a deep prussian blue, clearly is the work of a cabinet shop. This is evident not only in the quality of the joinery, but also in the use of battens fitted at each side of the top, the quality and form of moldings, and the use of ogce feet. A more expensive piece might simply have been made of walnut, with blind-mitred dovetails instead of exposed joinery.

Corner cupboards, or "bowfats" as they often were amusingly described in inventories by English colonials utterly unfamiliar with the French "buffet," were derived from interior architecture. It was not until the first quarter of the eighteenth century, in fact, that free-standing corner cupboards became familiar, since earlier they were simply built into the room, a practice which continued in most urban areas. Many such architectural cupboards—including a pair built at each side of the fireplace in the King-Bazemore house parlor—were constructed with curving backs in imitation of the classi-

cal niches intended to house statuary. In eastern North Carolina, this construction was retained in a large percentage of the free-standing corner cupboards made in the region. The example shown in figure 25 has wide boards bent to fit the radiused backs of the shelves, with the joints neatly concealed with lip-molded vertical laths (fig. 25a). The early date of this cupboard is suggested not only by its form, but also its hardware. What appear to be butt hinges in reality are wrought-iron "dovetail" hinges, as they were called in the eighteenth century, used here as butts. Known today as "butterfly" hinges, shop inventories verify that they were in use in the Carolina coastal plain as late as the 1770s. Nicely fashioned wooden latches for the left-side doors (fig. 25b), captured inside iron staples, speak to a time when imported hardware was less available.

This cupboard, like many corner cupboards, was very likely the work of a house joiner, who would have been well acquainted with all the methodology needed to produce such a piece. In 1772 William Luten, a skilled carpenter working thirty miles to the east in Chowan County, charged Elizabeth Tullan £2.10 for "one Bofeat finding planck & knails." Two years later he charged another patron £1.15 "To Making Bofet at his hous," revealing the itinerant nature



25. Cupboard, Bertie County, 1760–1780, yellow pine throughout. HOA 92 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", WOA 50". HHF accession 80.7.1.



25a. Detail of interior of figure 25.

25b. Detail of upper left door latch of figure 25.

of the carpenter's trade in contrast with that of the "shop joiner," or cabinetmaker, who customarily worked at a bench.¹⁸

Without a certain amount of scrutiny, the simple nature of the humble table shown in figure 26 could be taken as the work of a semi-skilled rural workman, but this is far from the case. The simple columnar legs of the table are not a measure of the maker's lack of ability at the lathe, but instead are an inexpensive and pragmatic solution to the need for a table that likely was intended for kitchen service. When new, the turnings were crisp, if plain, each of the leg pummels—the squared portions—finished where they meet the shaft with a nicely radiused turn. The lower edges of the frame are run with a flush bead, as are the outer edges of the stretchers, which are only half the thickness of the lower leg pummels, a late detail. Wear has reduced two of the feet, but those at the rear very likely are

nearly their original configuration. The top is composed of five boards rather than the two or three that might be expected on an earlier table, but the multiple boards were an insurance against warpage. Care is shown in the joinery of the frame, which is triple-pinned at each of its full-height mortise and tenon joints. The base retains what is probably a nineteenth-century coating of reddish-brown paint, the "Spanish brown" that would have been preferred for such a utilitarian piece even when it was new.

Sharing many of the same details as the previous table, such as a



26. *Table, Bertie County, 1750–1780, yellow pine and hickory. HOA 26½", WOA 38⅞", DOA 32⅞". HHF accession 73.12.8.*



27. Table, Hertford County, 1750–1770, yellow pine and maple, HOA 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ " , WOA 39 $\frac{15}{16}$ " , DOA 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". HHF accession 90.2.15.

molded frame and stretchers, another example (fig. 27) is no easier to date precisely. The slender inverted vase turnings of the legs indicate at least a mid-century date for the table, yet the top is fastened to the frame with wooden pins rather than clasp-head or other types of finish nails. Face-nailing became common for simple table tops after the 1740s, so a table later than that normally would not be encountered with a pinned top. Here the quality of the turnings has something of a hierarchy from top to bottom. Just under the upper stiles the legs have a delicate compressed ball, while at the feet there

are no fillets to define either the foot or its necking. The table originally was "colored," in the language of the time, apparently in a dark prussian blue.

A hallmark of southern post-and-round armchairs of any period are turned arms which project over the front legs rather than being tenoned into them. Although the chair in figure 28 is a nineteenth-century example, at least a portion of the style of its turnings is much earlier. Arms with similar cylindrical sections over the front posts have been noted on seventeenth and early eighteenth century chairs from southeastern Virginia. Not unusual for any chair of this size is the enormous amount of surface wear. The legs are reduced into the lower base round joints, and the front, sides, and backs of the posts have flats, all caused by generations of toddlers pushing the chair about on gritty floors while mastering the art of walking.

The form of the robustly turned finials and the use of squat vase turnings on both the front and back posts of the chair shown in figure 29, along with the stout diameter of the posts, indicate an eighteenth-century date for this chair. The turnings, particularly the finials, are much in the style of eastern Connecticut, which is true of other Roanoke basin chairs made both earlier and later than this example. Relatively few eastern North Carolina ladder-back side chairs that date as early as this example have survived, and this chair has suffered the ravages of both man and weather. Its slats, which originally were steeply arched, have lost their tops, and the feet have rotted to the extent that the front lower base round is missing.

The relatively heavy posts of another chair (fig. 30), considered within the regional vernacular, date it at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It has an attenuated version of the finials of the previous example; its double ring turnings, with gently swelled sections between these turn-



28. *Child's armchair, Halifax County, 1800–1820, maple and oak. HOA 17⁷/₈", WOA 13³/₁₆", DOA 10¹/₄". HHF accession 75.8.1.*



29. Side chair, Hertford County, 1760–1780, maple and ash. HOA 39¹/₄", WOA 20³/₁₆", DOA 15³/₄". HHF accession 91.7.1.



30. Side chair, eastern Bertie County, 1790–1810, maple and hickory. HOA 33⁵/₈", WOA 17³/₁₆", DOA 14¹/₂". HHF accession 73.12.11.

ings, appears to occur in the south-central portion of Bertie County, very much in the same area where Hope is located. “Common” chairs, as ladderbacks were called on Carolina inventories, often were the work of specialist chairmakers, who, like the cabinetmakers of the region, were farmer-artisans. Like case furniture, post-and-round chairs have their own stylistic and technical language which is repeated from piece to piece in the same shop. Significant on this example are “locked” seat lists. That is, the side seat lists, rather than

fitting drilled mortises which are tangent to the holes for the front and rear lists, actually bisect the tenons of the front and rear lists. This prevented the chair from spreading apart from side to side; the strike lines that determined the centers of the overlapping seat list holes are visible on the back post in the illustration.

Yet another chair, part of a surviving set of six (fig. 31), could either be perceived as a slight degeneration of the stylistic details of the previous example, or understood as the inevitable continuing development of regional style. In actuality, both perceptions are true. Here, the double rings have diminished to single rings, the finials have become a simplified version of the earlier examples, and lock joints are not used at the seat lists. Nevertheless, this set of chairs is from a very substantial chairmaking tradition which dominated the southern portion of Northampton County and the upper quadrant of Bertie County in the early nineteenth century. Dozens of examples have been seen, and with sufficient variation to know that several chairmakers were producing turnings in this style. The peaked slats are often thought to be a later detail, yet they appear at least as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century in Dutch engravings. Holland, in fact, is credited with having developed the ladderback form of post-and-round chair.¹⁹

As the finial turnings indicate, the tiny chair illustrated in figure 32 falls within the same school of chairmaking as the preceding side chair. Unlike figure 28, the arms of this chair are tenoned into the



31. Side chair, eastern Northampton County, 1800–1830, hickory. HOA 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", WOA 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", DOA 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". HHF accession 73.12.1–6. MRF-12,041.



32. *Child's armchair, Bertie County, 1810–1840, maple and ash, HOA 21⁷/₈", WOA 13³/₄", DOA 11¹/₂". HHF accession 86.2.1.*

front posts, much in the manner of New England ladderbacks. The wear on the front posts has revealed the bottoms of holes drilled for the arms, and provided evidence at the same time that the chairmaker used a round-nosed shell auger to drill these mortises. This is a good illustration of the persistence of trade tradition, for shell augers had been in use for several hundred years by the time this chair was made. As something of a stylistic parallel to such persistence, the use of finials on the front posts lends a medieval aspect to the chair.

Somewhat related to earlier post-and-round chairs made in Bertie County in regard to the use of ring turnings on the posts and the form of its finials, the chair illustrated in figure 33 has ponderous scrolled arms far more typical of chairs made before 1750. On post-and-round chairs, the retention of much earlier features is by no means unusual; an even later example of such cultural lag is seen on a youth's armchair from Bertie County.²⁰ The riot of deep astragal turnings on both of the front stretchers of

the chair illustrated here is repeated on a virtually identical armchair in the MESDA collection. Both chairs have strong traces of their original red paint. This example retains most of its foot turnings. Turned rear feet are seldom encountered on American chairs made in the Northeast, but they occur before 1700 in the Chesapeake South, where they were accompanied by decoratively turned side and rear stretchers as well. Such attention to side and rear base members is common in the Low Countries and France, and very likely was brought to northeastern North Carolina by emigrant Huguenots at the beginning of the eighteenth century.



33. *Armchair, Halifax County, 1800–1820, maple and hickory. HOA 50½", WOA 25½", DOA 18". HHF accession 87.29.1.*



34. *Side chair, Halifax County, 1810–1830, ash. HOA 35¾", WOA 17¾", DOA 15½". HHF accession 83.11.1.*

One of an assembled set of five matching chairs, the turnings of the back posts of figure 34 are characteristic of a large sampling of post-and-round chairs made in Halifax County. Most distinctive are the pairs of barrel-like turnings between the slats. Also typical of the Halifax chairmaking school are the numerous incised rings on the



35. *Bedstead, Bertie County, 1800–1830, mulberry. HOA 28", WOA 53¹/₄", LOA 75".
HHF accession 72.37.1.*

posts which appear to be decorative but in reality are strike-lines used by the chairmaker to indicate the positions of slats and stretchers as well as the centers of the "barrel" turnings. After the sawn blanks for the posts were turned round, the chairmaker used a striking-stick set with iron points to mark off all of these lines simultaneously, thereby saving the time of measuring these positions, and ensuring uniformity.

The use of spindles between the bed rails and the head and foot rails of the bedstead illustrated in figure 35 are related to the con-

struction of post-and-round armchairs from Virginia and eastern North Carolina that date as early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century. These chairs, which have rail-and-spindle backs rather than turned horizontal back members with spindles set between them, are another manifestation of Continental influence in the lower Chesapeake. Rail-and-spindle chairs seem to disappear near the end of the eighteenth century, but beds with this construction continue later, and as a consequence they are often thought to be earlier than they actually are. Most beds of this type have been found in Bertie County. On the examples examined, including the bed illustrated here, the head and foot assemblies are permanently joined, obviously due to the complexity of the spindle construction. The side rails are held to these assemblies with bed roping rather than bolts. The bed shown here is made entirely of red mulberry, a wood which appears to have been favored by eastern North Carolina turners, for it appears in post-and-round chairs dating as early as 1700, but is also frequently encountered in nineteenth century chairs and other turned work.

Like the architecture of both Hope Plantation and the King-Bazemore House, the Roanoke basin furniture these buildings contain documents the existence of strongly recognizable regional styles that were adapted from Britain and the urban centers of the Lower Chesapeake. The conservative style of this work, in combination with the exceedingly high quality of joinery so characteristic of furniture in the area, very well suited David Stone and his eastern Carolina peers. The selected examples of Historic Hope's Roanoke basin furniture illustrated here, then, comprise a window upon the fashions and times of one particularly prominent man whose tastes both drew from and contributed to the arts of the region.

NOTES

1. John E. Tyler, "Hope Plantation in North Carolina," *The Magazine ANTIQUES*, January 1989, 322-29; Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of

North Carolina Press, 1990), 82–84. The author would like to thank John E. Tyler, David Westbrook, Kevin Hughes, and Johanna Metzgar Brown for their assistance.

2. John Bivins, *The Furniture of Coastal North Carolina, 1700–1820* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 1988).

3. Elkanah Watson, *The Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, ed. Winslow C. Watson (New York, 1856), 58.

4. *Records of the 1820 Census of Manufactures*, North Carolina, Hertford County returns.

5. Bivins, 502–3, 61.

6. *Ibid.*, 57, 227, 514–18.

7. A 1690–1730 turned bed with spindles fitted between the rails and turned crossmembers at head and foot is in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Though it does not have full-height posts, this eastern Massachusetts example, which is made of ash, very likely predates the bed illustrated here. It is illustrated in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Elizabeth Bidwell Banks, *American Furniture: 1620 to the Present* (New York: Richard Marek, 1981), 29.

8. For examples, see Robert F. Trent, *Hearts and Crowns: Folk Chairs of the Connecticut Coast 1720–1840* (New Haven, Conn.: New Haven Historical Society, 1977), p. 31, fig. 1, and p. 35, fig. 5; Benno M. Forman, *American Seating Furniture 1630–1730* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), p. 252, cat. 52, and p. 321, fig. 174.

9. Bivins, 512.

10. Another chair from the same shop, but missing its shoe, reduced in height, and modern blocking added, is illustrated in Fig. 6.129 of Bivins.

11. Another chair from the same shop, but with no blocks and the rear seat rail flush with the leg stiles, is illustrated in Fig. 6.128 of Bivins.

12. William Byrd II, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), 96.

13. The will of Thomas Pollock documents the bequest to his son Cullen of “five thousand foot of plank which I have sent for from Boston.” J. Bryan Grimes, *Abstract of North Carolina Wills* (Raleigh: E.M. Uzzell & Co., 1910), 292–93.

14. Bivins, 502.

15. *Halifax County Inventories and Accounts of Sales, 1835–1842*, pp. 167–68, estate of W. W. Jones, February session, Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.

16. Mark J. Anderson, “A New Look at Sulfur and Other Composition Inlay,” *Catalogue of the Chester County Historical Society Antique Show* (West Chester, Pa., 1995), p. 39.

17. Bivins, p. 309, fig. 671.

18. William Luten Account Book, 1764–1787, manuscript, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

19. Hendrick Hondius, *Instruction en la science de perspective*, The Hague, 1623, cited and illustrated in Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978), 207.

20. Bivins, fig. 519.

Research Note

The Virginia Career of Jacob Marling

J. CHRISTIAN KOLBE AND

LYNDON H. HART III

THE LIVES OF MANY PAINTERS in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America are difficult to document, and biographical information on artists is at best often sketchy. The fact that many of these artists were itinerant helps explain the scarcity of records documenting their careers. Jacob Marling is unusual in that a fairly complete picture of his work in Virginia can be documented. His career as a painter spanned a period of thirty-eight years (1795–1833) in Virginia and North Carolina.¹ A painting of the North Carolina state house² and a painting of a meeting of the Raleigh Female Academy, titled *The Crowning of Flora*³ (fig. 1) have been documented as his work, and numerous portraits in widely differing styles have been attributed to him.⁴ Marling's Virginia career covers the years 1795 to 1813, but none of his paintings done in Virginia have been documented. This essay documents Marling's life and work in Virginia by examining manuscript sources.

Marling advertised his services to teach drawing and painting in the 8 May 1795 issue of the *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, stating that for the last seven years he had studied under James Cox in Philadelphia.⁵ The 1794 Philadelphia city directory lists



1. Jacob Marling, *The Crowning of Flora*, oil on canvas, HOA 30 $\frac{1}{8}$ "", WOA 39 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Courtesy of the Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia, gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch. Acc. 80.181.26.

James Cox as a drawing master living at 63 Walnut Street.⁶ Marling next advertised in the 28 July 1795 issue of the *Richmond Chronicle* that he was teaching drawing and painting.⁷ In a notice in the 27 April 1796 *Richmond and Manchester Advertiser*, as well as advertising that he taught drawing and painting, Marling stated that for a year he was engaged to teach young ladies one day a week in Petersburg.⁸

With this notice began Marling's prolonged sojourn in one of the few major towns in southside Virginia. The following transcription of a notice in the 19 May 1797 issue of the *Virginia Gazette & Petersburg Intelligencier* is typical of the advertisements Marling placed in newspapers. It is interesting to note that he was willing to teach in the surrounding counties.⁹ Perhaps this offers a clue as to how Marling met his future wife, Louisa Simmons of Southampton County.

J. MARLING,

RESPECTFULLY informs the inhabitants of PETERSBURG and its vicinity, that he still continues his SCHOOL for the tuition of young Ladies and Gentlemen in the elegant art of DRAWING and PAINTING, through all its various branches. In the education of youth, especially the female sex, this beautiful accomplishment ought not to be neglected, as it at once affords a constant source of variegated amusement and pleasure. He also professes to take LANDSCAPES and MINIATURE PAINTINGS, on the most reasonable terms. He will wait on any person at their own house, where it is not convenient or agreeable for them to attend his public School.

He would have no objections to a School in the country, not farther distant than thirty, or forty miles, provided a sufficient number of Scholars could be obtained, so as to make it worthy the inconvenience and trouble that must necessarily accompany such an undertaking. His attendance will be one day each week to a country school, so it cannot interfere with his engagements in town.

Petersburg, May 3, 1797

N.B. His School House is in Bollingbrook Street, nearly opposite the Printing Office.¹⁰

It was not long before Marling found himself in financial difficulties, a situation which seemed continually to plague him. On 27 June 1796, Marling signed a promissory note saying he would pay Charles Cox six pounds that he had borrowed from him. In the 20

March 1798 session of the court of Chesterfield County, a summons was issued to Marling to appear in court on the second Monday in April and to pay his debt to Cox.¹¹ A chancery suit in Southampton County reveals that Marling became involved in financial difficulties in the years 1799–1800. The deposition of John Brewer stated that Marling was indebted to him for boarding, for which Marling entered into a bond. According to Brewer's deposition, Marling opened another account with Brewer, which he was allowed to pay with painting. Marling's work was valued at fifty dollars. Brewer claimed that even after the fifty dollars worth of work, a balance remained on the open account, and that the bond for the closed account had not been paid.¹²

The depositions of Joseph P. Pool and Robert Walker during this suit provide further information on Marling. In his deposition, Pool stated that in the fall or winter of 1799, Marling did three drawings for John Brewer. The three drawings were of Brewer and each of his daughters. Pool said he thought that the work was worth about seventy dollars and that Mr. Warrell, another portrait painter in the Richmond-Petersburg area, charged thirty dollars for a grown person and twenty or twenty-five dollars for children.¹³ The Dinwiddie County personal tax for 1815 lists John R. Brewer as owning two oil portraits, two pictures over twelve inches, and two pictures under twelve inches with gilt frames.¹⁴

Robert Walker stated that in the fall of 1800, Brewer approached him about taking tickets in a lottery for paintings belonging to Marling. The paintings were, in effect, raffled to cover Marling's debts. As Brewer owed him ten dollars, Walker subscribed for two tickets at five dollars each, and Brewer paid the ten dollars to Marling. Brewer then proposed to join Walker in a partnership and bought two additional tickets. Walker's two tickets won prizes, and Brewer's tickets were blanks. Walker was so pleased that he paid Brewer fifty dollars for his interest.¹⁵

The following transcription lists the paintings and prints owned by Marling, with their value, that were sold at the lottery. It also in-

cludes the the names of the subscribers who bought the fifty-six tickets.¹⁰ The paintings listed indicate that Marling did various types of work. The historical works may have been copied after paintings by John Trumbull, who painted historical and religious scenes, as well as portraits and landscapes.

A Lottery for Paintings and Prints

Two Elegant Paintings one representing the Battle at Bunkers hill near Boston, and the other the death of General Montgomery before Quebec, also two prints representing the Same, Elegantly framed, one dutch view, one landscape taken near Petersburg, one rushan Shepherd, one french ditto and two fancy pieces.

	viz	
56 Tickets	\$5	\$280
1 prize 1 of Each the Painting	No. 1	120
1 ditto 1 "	2	[]
1 ditto 3	[]	[]
1 ditto Landscape	4	20
1 ditto rushan Shepherd	5	20
1 ditto French ditto	6	16
1 ditto 2 fancy pieces	7	<u>\$ 6</u>
		\$280

1 Ro Walker	14 J. Faircloth
2 Geo Pegram	15 B. Edwards
3 B. Ncholson	16 Wm. Thompson
4 Jos. P Pool	17 James Hodges
5 James Geddy Jr.	18 Saml. White
6 John Nicholas	19 Edwd. Holmes
7 Ro. Lorton	20 Saml. White
8 Jno. Arbuckel	21 E. Dillard
9 S. Taylor	22 Nat. Friend
10 N. Herbamont	23 John Nicholas
11 Sp. Hinton	24 W. Johnson for J.R.
12 Peter Wilson	Brewer
13 Capt Wm Wells	25 Capt. Moore

26 John Page	42 M. Maben
27 Wm. Johnson	43 Ro. Watkins
28 Jas. Fleming	44 Jno. McRae Jr.
29 Ben Marshall	45 Wm Johnson
30 Rob. Smith	46 [?] Smith
31 Jno R. Brewer	47 E Jimmerson
32 Fitz P	48 Ro. Walker
33 Wm Fraser	49 E Deane
34 Thos Field	50 Tho Wilcox
35 Capt. Lorton	51 John Beckley
36 Mrs. Adams	52 Jno. Bank
37 R. Ellis	53 J. Warrell
38 R. Ellis	54 R Wilkinson
39 Archd. Walker	55 N. Fitzshu
40 Jno. R. Brewer self	56 John Key
41 Jno. R. Brewer	

Undaunted by his financial difficulties, Marling advertised again in the 16 April 1801 issue of the *Republican*. He stated that examples of his work could be seen at his lodgings at Mr. T. Lorton's in Old Street.¹⁷

In 1803, Erastus Deane, a Petersburg merchant,¹⁸ assigned a debt of £5.3.4½ due him from Marling to Seth R. Kneeland of New York. The description of this debt as seen below provides further information on Marling's painting activities.

Mr. Jacob Marling to Erastus Deane, Dr.			
1800	To 2 yds India Cotton	2/	4
July 9	1 Drawing Book		1 10
1801	Saddle and Bridle		3 13
Feby 7	2 Boxes paints opaque	9/	18
	Satin to paint one apron on		7 6
	int. there on		5. 3. 4 ¹⁹

"Opaque paints" probably refers to a tempera type of paint used in watercolor painting. The opaque paints and drawing book suggest that Marling was conducting painting classes for young ladies. The reference to the "satin to paint one apron" may be a reference to painted Masonic aprons.²⁰

By 1805, Marling had married Louisa Simmons from Southampton County, Virginia. Louisa was the daughter of Edwin Simmons and his wife Rebecca née Simmons.²¹ The personal property tax lists for Southampton County show Marling as an inhabitant for the years 1806–1807.²² Marriage to Louisa brought Marling 105½ acres of land and a slave named Ginn. Louisa had received this property as one of her father's heirs.²³ Marling also purchased a parcel of land from Edwin Simmons's estate and 5½ acres from Edwin's widow, Rebecca Simmons. In 1807, Marling was in debt for a tract of land he had purchased; he mortgaged his tract of 205¼ acres.²⁴ Apparently Marling was able to redeem his land, and in 1808 he sold his entire holdings, which consisted of 205 acres, to Peter Simmons.²⁵ Marling was also indebted to John Urquhart for twenty pounds,²⁶ and mortgaged a slave, Jenny, who was listed in the estate division of his father-in-law Edwin Simmons.

In the March 1809 court of Southampton County, Marling sued Samuel Blunt, administrator of the estate of Robert Goodwyn, deceased. In 1808, Marling had painted portraits of "Mrs. Goodwin and his son" and he had not been paid the one hundred dollars owed to him for this work.²⁷ Robert Goodwyn's widow, Susanna, remarried in 1809 to Benjamin Cobb.²⁸ In the 1815 personal property tax list, Benjamin Cobb was taxed for three oil portraits,²⁹ two of which are likely to be the ones in the suit and which would have become part of Cobb's taxable property through his marriage to the widow Goodwyn.

In the September 1810 court for Southampton County, Marling again sued Samuel Blunt, this time as executor of the estate of Dr. James Irwin. In 1806, Marling had painted, at the request of Dr. James Irwin, a portrait of Arthur Irwin for thirty dollars but had not yet been paid.³⁰ As Arthur is not mentioned in the will of Dr. Irwin or in any other county record, we presume that he is a son who died young.³¹

By 1808, Marling had left Southampton County and returned to Petersburg. In the 27 July 1808 issue of the *Republican*, he advertised that he painted quarter- to full-length portraits and landscapes. The advertisement further stated that he would open a school of drawing and painting for young ladies at the house of Messrs. Hammon and Daniel on Old Street.³² From 18 October 1808 through 24 February 1809, Marling advertised in the *Petersburg Intelligencier* that he was operating a drawing and painting school for young ladies and that he did portraits and landscape painting.³³

Financial difficulties continued for Marling. In a deed recorded April 1809 in Petersburg, he mortgaged his household furnishings to repay a debt of £11.19.0, which was owed to Rebecca Simmons, his mother-in-law.³⁴ In December 1809, Marling mortgaged lot 131, which was on the plan of lots between Center Hill and Poplar Spring.³⁵ Marling had also become indebted to Charles Cox for the sum of £23.12.0. In the June 1810 court for Chesterfield County, a summons was issued for the sheriff to seize Marling's riding chair, which was valued at £11.19.3. The sheriff was also ordered to seize one feather bed, one dozen Windsor chairs, and a settee valued at £11.16.0.³⁶ Also in June 1810 in the court of Southampton County, Marling brought suit against Peter Simmons for debts.³⁷

The 1815 personal property tax list of Virginia represents the first time that the state taxes listed by category luxury items such as portraits, and the information it contains casts an interesting light on Marling's relations with Louisa Simmons's extended family. Of the twelve persons listed as owning portraits in the Nottoway Parish section of Southampton County, six were connected with the Simmons family (see appendices I and II). These six individuals owned eleven of the nineteen portraits listed on the tax list. The personal property tax lists also provide the number of slaves in certain age brackets. Taking the number of slaves owned as an indicator of wealth (appendix II), these individuals seem to represent a wide range of financial circumstances, from extremely wealthy to modest.³⁸ It is thus striking that they represent half the persons owning portraits in Nottoway Parish, and even more so that they own eleven of the nineteen portraits listed. Even considering that some of the portraits may

have been inherited, the situation is puzzling. One explanation may be that Marling needed to borrow cash or goods, especially if he tried his hand at farming, and the extended family network was the natural resource to turn to for aid. Marling may have paid back debts to or bartered with family members by painting portraits.

In the St. Luke's Parish area of Southampton County, only one person is listed as owning a portrait. However, given the dimensions for some of the "pictures" listed (see appendix III), the figure being for the breadth of the item, the term *picture* may mean a painting.³⁹ There is only one Simmons connection listed as having a picture in the St. Luke's Parish area.

Marling last appears on the Petersburg personal property tax in 1811. By 1812, Marling's name disappears from the Virginia personal property tax records.⁴⁰ After seventeen years in Virginia, Marling left Petersburg and moved to Raleigh, North Carolina. Except for a brief visit to Charleston,⁴¹ Marling remained in Raleigh until his death in 1833. His career there is fairly well documented, and it is known that he continued his painting and operated a museum.⁴² A notice in the 11 August 1815 issue ⁴³ of the *Raleigh Minerva* and the inventory of Marling's estate (Appendix IV) list a number of paintings done by the artist.

Examination of the Petersburg lottery of Marling's works (see page 4) and the sales account of Marling's estate⁴⁴ (see Appendix IV) may assist future researchers in Virginia. Both documents show that Marling painted subjects other than portraits, including historical paintings, landscapes, and genre scenes. Marling's estate sale account names specific sitters for portraits, including Governor Stokes, whose portrait has been recorded by MESDA (fig. 2).

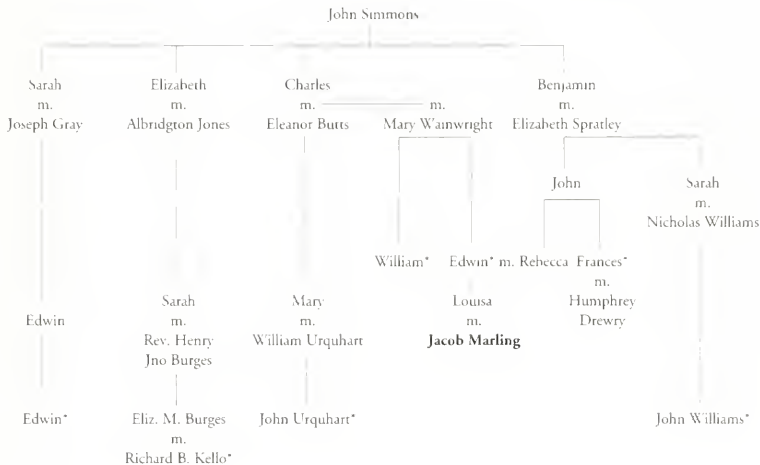


2. *Jacob Marling* (attrib.), Portrait of Governor Montfort Stokes, oil on canvas, HOA 27³/₄", WOA 24". Courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History, acc. XX.182.1. Stokes was governor of North Carolina from 1830 to 1832.

In the *North Carolina Portrait Index 1700–1860*, several portraits of widely varying styles are attributed to Marling.⁴⁵ If adequate documentation is available, some of these portraits, along with the portrait of Governor Stokes, would provide a yardstick by which surviving Virginia portraits might be attributed to Marling. Surviving Virginia portraits would generally date prior to Marling's removal from Petersburg in 1811–1812, and assigning a date to portraits under investigation would be aided by a knowledge of contemporary clothing styles. The sitters of Marling's Virginia portraits would most likely have been residents of Petersburg or southside Virginia counties for which Petersburg was the main cultural and market center. It is hoped that this article documenting Marling's life and work in Virginia will encourage others to research and document Marling's work in Petersburg and the surrounding counties.

LYNDON H. HART III, *the Head of Descriptive Services Branch at the Library of Virginia in Richmond, has an extensive interest in the court records, architecture and families of Southampton County, Virginia. J. CHRISTIAN KOLBE, a reference archivist at the Library of Virginia, is an alumnus of the 1978 MESDA Summer Institute.*

APPENDIX I. *The Extended Family (by Marriage)
of Jacob Marling*



APPENDIX II. *Relative Wealth as Indicated by the Southampton
County Personal Property Tax Lists, Nottoway Parish, 1815*

	Slaves Over 16	Slaves 9-12	Slaves Over 12	Oil Portraits	Crayon Portraits	Total Tax
Benjamin Cobb	19	2	22	3		31.52
Benjamin Devany	2		4	1		5.25
Nancy Foster	2		3	1		2.65
Edwin Gray, Sr.*	16	3	19		1	13.67
Lewis P. Hart	3	3	5	1		8.87
Richard Kello*	7	1	7	3		14.61
Josiah Murdaugh	5	5	5		1	9.83
Rebecca Simmons*	3	1	5	1		6.96
William Simmons*	4	2	5	1		7.59
Drewry Stith	4		4	1		7.17
John Urquhart*	119	9	132	2		152.52
John Williams*		1	3			1.97

*Indicates Simmons family connection.

APPENDIX III. *Relative Wealth As Indicated by the Southampton
County Personal Property Tax Lists, St. Luke's Parish, 1815*

	<i>Slaves 9-12</i>	<i>Slaves over 12</i>	<i>Oil Portraits</i>	<i>Prints, Engravings, Pictures</i>	<i>Total Tax</i>
Humphrey Drewry*		17		1 2 ft.	20.42 ¹ / ₂
Lewis Fort	2	18		4 12 in.	42.10
James Gee	8	37		3 2 ft.	
			1	3 ft.	56.70
				1 16 in.	
Capt. Jas Harris	1	23		18 12 in.	29.20
Newatt Harris and Nathan Harris	6	28		8 14 in.	40.08
Benjamin W. Johnson		15		17 18 in.	33.24
Thomas Newson	2	24		3 20 in.	30.02
Stith Nicholson	3	16	1	20 in.	19.50
Thomas Ridley	1	19		1 2 ft.	24.26
Anne G. Wilkinson		15		8 18 in.	16.90 ¹ / ₂

* Indicates Simmons family connection.

APPENDIX IV. *Paintings Cited in Jacob Marling's Estate Inventory*

Account of Sale & Inventory of Jacob Marling By the Administrator

<i>Description of painting</i>	<i>purchaser</i>	<i>price</i>
1 painting View of Sea Port	Wm H. Mead	\$1.35
1 fancy peace [piece]	Wm H. Mead	2.20
1 Painting	John G. Marshall	1.15
1 "	" " "	1.05
1 "	Wm H. Mead	2.55
1 "	John G. Marshall	4.60
1 " Gov Stokes	Wm Buffaloe	6.30
1 " " Miller	Mr Sawyer	2.25
1 " Col Clinton	G.W. Ligon	2.00
1 " Lorenzo Dow	Mr Sawyer	4.25
1 "	W H Mead	8.50
1 "	John Beckwith	3.30
1 "	John G. Marshall	8.25
1 "	Dr Beckwith	3.30
1 " Dr. McPheeters	John G. Marshall	5.00
1 " Queen of Mav	" " "	20.25
1 " Watermelon	Alford Slade	5.80
1 "	Mr Buffaloe	4.40
1 "	Mr Taylor	1.50
1 View of London	John G Marshall	4.25
1 Painting	E. Smith	2.00

Only references to paintings listed in Marling's inventory were transcribed and included above

NOTES

1. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, *Index to Early Southern Artists and Artisans* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: MESDA, 19), entry for Jacob Marling.
2. Jessie Poesch, *The Art of the Old South: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and the Products of Craftsmen 1660-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 121-22.
3. Davida Deutsch, "The Crowning of Flora," *The Luminary: The Newsletter of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 9, No. 2 (Summer 1988): 3-4.
4. Ben F. Williams, *Jacob Marling: Early North Carolina Artist* (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1964).
5. *Virginia Herald & Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 8 May 1795, 4-3.
6. James Hardie, *The Philadelphia Directory and Register*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Jacob Johnson & Co., 1794), 33.
7. *Richmond Chronicle*, 28 July 1795, 3-4.
8. *Richmond and Manchester Advertiser*, 27 April 1796, 4-2.
9. *Virginia Gazette & Petersburg Intelligencer*, 19 May 1797, 2-3.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Chesterfield County Dead Papers [Judgments], April Court 1798, in the Library of Virginia, formerly Virginia State Library and Archives, Archives Division, Richmond (henceforth cited as LVA).
12. Southampton County Chancery Papers, 1810, LVA.
13. *Ibid.* James Warrell was an artist working in the Richmond and Petersburg area. George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, eds., *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 662.
14. Personal Property Taxes, Dinwiddie County, 1815, LVA.
15. Southampton County Chancery Papers, 1810, LVA.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Republican*, Petersburg, Virginia, 16 April 1801, 1-3.
18. Personal Property Taxes, Petersburg, 1800, LVA.
19. Southampton County Judgments, 1803, LVA.
20. This possibility was suggested by Whaley Batson, MESDA paintings consultant, in October 1994.
21. Southampton County Chancery Papers, 1806, LVA.
22. Personal Property Taxes, Southampton County, 1806-1807, LVA.
23. Southampton County Chancery Papers, 1806, LVA.
24. Southampton County Deed Book 11, 1805-1809, 298-99.
25. *Ibid.*, 549-50.
26. *Ibid.*, 633.
27. Southampton County Judgments, 1811, LVA.
28. Catherine Lindsay Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers Returns of Southampton County, Virginia* (Pine Bluff, Ark.: Perdue, 1955), 28.
29. Personal Property Taxes, Southampton County, Nottoway Parish, 1815, LVA.
30. Southampton County Judgments, 1810, LVA.
31. Southampton County Will Book 6, 1804-1810, 659.
32. *Republican*, Petersburg, Virginia, 27 July 1808, 4-1.
33. *Petersburg Intelligencer*, 18 October 1808, 3-4.
34. *Petersburg Deed Book* 3, 1801-1811, 449.
35. *Ibid.*, 484-85.
36. Chesterfield County Dead Papers [Judgments], 1810, LVA.

37. Southampton County Judgments, 1810, LVA.
38. Personal Property Taxes, Southampton County, Nottoway Parish, 1815, LVA.
39. Personal Property Taxes, Southampton County, St. Luke's Parish, 1815, LVA.
40. Personal Property Taxes, Southampton County and Petersburg, 1811–1812, LVA.
41. *Courier*, Charleston, South Carolina, 20 January 1819, 2–4.
42. Poesch, *The Art of the Old South*, 121–22.
43. *The Raleigh Minerva*, 11 August 1815.
44. Sales account of the estate of Jacob Marling, 1838, in Wake County, North Carolina. Record of Wills and Inventories: Settlement of Estates, 1834–1841, volume 23, pp. 303–4.
45. Laura MacMillan, comp., *North Carolina Portrait Index* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963).

Book Reviews

Rockbridge County Artists and Artisans

BARBARA CRAWFORD AND ROYSTER LYLE, JR.

Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. Pp. 254; 19 color, 257 black-and-white illustrations. Cloth, \$62.50. ISBN 0-8139-1638-0.

Rockbridge County, Virginia, named after its famous landmark Natural Bridge, is not widely known as a center for the production of the fine or decorative arts during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was simply not Philadelphia or Charleston. No rural county, especially west of the Blue Ridge, was. What Barbara Crawford and Royster Lyle, Jr., have demonstrated in *Rockbridge County Artists and Artisans*, however, is that portraiture, landscape, and the manufacture of textiles, furniture, clocks, rifles, ironwork, and pottery were as vital to life in small town and farming communities as they were essential to the defining elements of urban culture. Moreover, the objects with which men and women worked, decorated their homes, and made their lives more manageable or comfortable were not created in the isolation usually associated with rural and small town life. Rather, they reflected the cultural currents that may have emanated from urban places but swept the entire Atlantic world during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, propelled by the consumer revolution, the industrial revolution, and the Georgian revolution's progressive infusion of neoclassical styles. *Rockbridge County Artists and Artisans* is an important book about a place made important by the men and women who fashioned its material culture as both producers and consumers.

The book opens with sixteen pages of color plates, featuring landscapes of Rockbridge County, including images of Natural Bridge; sculpture, most notably Edward Valentine's recumbent statue of Robert E. Lee; architectural renderings; and examples of some of the strongest statements in furniture, pottery, manuscript decoration, and needlework made by Rockbridge artisans. Separate chapters on the fine arts, textiles, furniture, tall clocks, rifles, ironwork, and pottery follow. The chapter on ceramics, contributed by Kurt C. Russ, features archaeological evidence as well as fulsome descriptions of styles and production methods for earthenwares and stonewares. Hundreds of photographs, many of objects from local private collections and others from well-known museums, amply and exquisitely illustrate the text. The volume concludes with detailed biographies of nearly four hundred men and women artists or artisans whose work contributed to making the material culture of Rockbridge County so worthy of study and whose careers speak loudly for Crawford and Lyle's concern not only for objects, but also for the people who produced them.

The biographies also testify to the careful scholarship the authors invested in their study. They have made wise and excellent use of sources, including probate inventories and account books, which are often detailed in material descriptions but are otherwise so resistant to nuanced insight. Their text is amplified in numerous instances by technical discussions of crafts, such as counterpane or coverlet weaving, and industrial processes, such as ironmaking and kiln construction. Perhaps most engaging to the reader looking for the story within the story are the social histories of textile production or of furniture makers carefully extracted from ledgers, accounts, inventories, and personal papers. The high quality of the illustrations and the artful design of the book will win for it a rightful place on many coffee tables, but the thoughtful, insightful text and illustrations that not only please but can be studied as material evidence will also position the volume prominently on many scholars' working bookshelf.

Although *Rockbridge County Artists and Artisans* is organized conventionally into separate chapters on different object groups, many useful ideas inform the entire volume. Crawford and Lyle, for example, argue throughout their text that *place* matters in the emergence and development of material culture. Designs, forms, technologies, and traditions evolved in Rockbridge County through specific families, businesses, and personal relationships and within established institutions of commerce, transportation, church, and government. In one instance, Crawford and Lyle trace the evolution of the chest form in Rockbridge County probate inventories from its earliest appearance as a simple “chist” with a hinged top through its progressive development into a “chist with drawers” and finally to its more evolved form as a “case of drawers” by the early nineteenth century (p. 109). In another example, the Whiteside family of artisans illustrates how artisanry evolved in Rockbridge. Moses Whiteside emigrated from England or Ireland and settled in the Rockbridge County area about 1750. He raised two sons, Thomas and Moses, on his labor as farmer, silversmith, and gunsmith. Both sons became clockmakers and after Thomas departed for the West in the early nineteenth century, Moses and his son Samuel carried on the family business, collaborating with a number of cabinetmakers in the production of a remarkable series of clocks and cases that bear the imprint of both neoclassical styles and unique local variations. Probably no particular place in Rockbridge County possessed a stronger pull on the visual arts than Natural Bridge, which attracted such notable American painters as Frederick Church. Likewise, artisans and their output were profoundly influenced by educational institutions, namely Washington and Lee University (then Washington College), and the Virginia Military Institute through the patronage they provided or the heroic culture they promoted.

Through numerous examples of the importance of place in the evolution of material culture, Crawford and Lyle also provide strong evidence for the connectedness of places like Rockbridge County to the culture of ideas, designs, and technologies characterizing the

United States and much of the western world in the century following the American Revolution. The county's population was forged in the immigrant waves of the eighteenth century, in which English peoples were outnumbered by men and women from the north of Ireland and the central Rhine Valley. By the nineteenth century the county's seat, Lexington, lay at the intersection of what was arguably one of the great roads of early national America, the Philadelphia Wagon Road (later the Valley Turnpike), and a canal system that linked the town, via the James River, eastward to Richmond and the wide world of Atlantic commerce. Trade, migration, and communication all brought to the area new ideas such as the Pennsylvania rifle, the architectural and landscape designs of Andrew Jackson Downing, and the renderings of Pennsylvania sketchbook limner Lewis Miller or the New York-trained artist Lewis P. Clover, Jr. In his chapter on pottery, Russ suggests that locally produced utilitarian stonewares bore the singular stamp of John D. Morgan, who was trained at the Commeraw pottery at Coerlear's Hook, Manhattan, and "transplanted a strongly Germanic-influenced stoneware tradition to rural Rockbridge County" (p. 172).

This well-illustrated, carefully designed, thoughtfully crafted book often invites the reader to pause and wonder. What have the authors left out? Written perhaps for the people who know Rockbridge County best, the book nonetheless desperately wants a map. Numerous place references are lost on the uninitiated. But deeper questions about space and place might trouble the geographer. Rockbridge County in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was centered in the world of dispersed rural communities and market towns that made the Shenandoah Valley distinctively town-rich in contrast to the town-poor Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia. Some readers may want to know more about how artisan activity varied in type and scale according to the hierarchical geography created by farmer-artisans, crossroad shopkeepers and millers, and market-town merchants and manufacturers.

The attentiveness and thoroughness of Crawford and Lyle's text

also engages readers with questions about where these authors are leading scholarship on the decorative arts and material culture. Why limit their study to Rockbridge County? Did county lines meaningfully bound the exchange of ideas and methods among artists and artisans? No doubt Crawford and Lyle would be the first to argue that their work indeed stretches the scholar's mind from a local focus to regional considerations. They point to numerous instances in which the work of Rockbridge artisans drew upon sources from throughout the Shenandoah Valley such as the Winchester furniture firm of Martin and Fry or the Bell family of potters in Strasburg. The authors' work raises new possibilities for refining understandings of regionality in the material culture of Virginia, distinguishing the Valley from eastern Virginia or the Appalachian highlands to the west.

Readers may also wonder about the absence of inclusive dates in the volume's title. Crawford and Lyle begin their examination well before Rockbridge County's formation in 1778. In numerous passages scattered throughout the text, they argue that a consideration of Rockbridge artists and artisans concludes when, for instance, Connecticut clocks invaded local markets in the 1830s and displaced indigenous clockmakers, or the handmade rifle gave way to machine-made firearms in the following decades, or local ironmakers could no longer compete with the industrial giants emerging around Pittsburgh in the years following the Civil War. That the timing in which local artisanry gave way to a national culture of goods was erratic and at times messy is only testimony to the importance of studying—as Crawford and Lyle have done so well—the things people made and used within the context of the communities that gave these things meaning and identity.

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*Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and
Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775*

AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. Pp. xii, 257;
19 black-and-white illustrations, 9 maps, 22 tables and graphs,
appendix. ISBN 0-8122-3309-3 (cloth, \$34.95), 0-8122-1548-6 (paper,
\$16.95).

Aaron Spencer Fogleman's study employs a unique approach in assessing the impact of early German immigrants on American society. Part I of his study surveys conditions in Europe that influenced migration by concentrating on the relatively small area of the Kraichgau—some fifty-three parishes between the Rhine and Neckar rivers—and discussing its relevant political and social factors in detail. The emerging pattern of economic decline that eventually forced migration is surprisingly similar in most parishes: the population consisted chiefly of serfs; they practiced subsistence farming for personal and local consumption; available land consistently failed to meet nutritional needs as the population increased; lack of a marketing strategy stymied production for larger markets; opportunities for economic advancement were not given; starvation or emigration remained the seemingly only alternatives.

Fogleman concludes that once the decision to emigrate was made, the villagers rarely traveled alone. Instead, whole families and extended families emigrated together, providing "the framework within which the connections needed for successful settlement in the colonies were established" (p. 63). By studying the group dynamics of emigration in the decision-making process of several families and individuals, Fogleman presents convincing evidence that the Kraichgauers "successfully left behind a changing world" and revived some old patterns of living in America while also creating fresh ones in their new world (p. 13).

The thesis of the book's second section is that once the immigrants had arrived in America, they "found that continuing the col-

lective strategy of their villages best suited their interests" (p. 67). Using graphs and maps of demographic patterns, Fogleman shows that German-speaking immigrants generally settled with their families and extended families in areas already chosen by other Germans and then tended to remain there, helping their kin and friends still overseas with relocation to the "Neuland."

This finding supports the charge of "clannishness" that frequently has been levied against German-Americans, but the author also focuses on a number of exceptions to that rule and concludes that the "traditional 'communal model' for early American settlement does not entirely explain the German immigrant experience. By leaving the community to try and improve their fortunes . . . German emigrants in some ways took the ultimate step toward becoming model upwardly mobile, self-interested individualists" (pp. 79–80). Perhaps the most interesting part of the study is the analysis of Moravian settlements in a section titled "The Radical Pietist Alternative." Fogleman details the "well planned, well organized, and well financed" (p. 121) emigration and settlement of the Herrnhuters, and the conflict between Zinzendorf's and Mühlenberg's followers in the colonies.

The author concludes that the communal model of settlement served the Germans well. They supported each other of necessity, gained persuasive political power as a group, and influenced the political structure of their new homeland while maintaining their German culture. "But the real basis for the politicization of the German populace during the colonial period lay not in the realm of the traditional politics of officeholding, consistent voting for a faction or party, or fighting wars for empire and independence. For the German immigrants, instead, politicization was linked to the entire process of migration from Europe and settlement in the countryside of Greater Pennsylvania" (p. 150).

Given its title, one might expect the scope to include the chartered colonies beyond that of Pennsylvania, but, except for the excursus on the Moravians, this is not the case. Here Fogleman could truly have added significantly to our knowledge. The study focuses

chiefly on German immigration to Pennsylvania, with some discussion of settlers in Virginia and North Carolina. Beyond the identification of a few townships in South Carolina, however, the state's German-speaking immigrants receive little attention. Yet it is precisely South Carolina's immigration and settlement policy that would have provided an interesting contrast to the developments of her neighboring states and to the settlement pattern of Pennsylvania.

South Carolina's extensive coastline and especially Charleston's and Port Royal's protected natural harbors provided a safe haven for ocean-going vessels from the earliest time of immigration to America, but the first recorded settlement of Germans in the area of today's South Carolina dates to 1562. In that year Jean Ribault, leader of a Huguenot band, arrived with two ships carrying the Huguenots and an undetermined number of Germans from Hessen and the Alsace and founded a colony at "Port Royal." The fortified village named *Arx Carolana* (Fort Charles) was destroyed in 1566 during an attack by the Spaniards, but German immigration continued and by 1674 more than sixty German families already held land grants in and around Charleston. One of them was the family of Edmund Bellinger, who later became a surveyor. After John Lederer from Hamburg first mapped the southern slopes of the Appalachians in Virginia and Carolina, German immigration also proceeded overland from the northeast into the South Carolina midlands.

Significant differences between South Carolina's settlement patterns and those of Pennsylvania emerged with the colonial government's aggressive recruitment of German-speaking settlers in the eighteenth century. Seeking protection against Spanish encroachment from the west and security against Indian attacks on outlying trading posts, the government offered powerful incentives to German-speaking immigrants willing to settle in townships that would be created in the colony's primeval forests. While good land had become scarce in Pennsylvania, South Carolina could easily offer free land grants of fifty acres per head to immigrant families, free tools and farm implements, seed, and provisions for one year. Despite the

often severe penalties, professional recruiters scoured the European countryside for willing emigrants, armed with pamphlets and testimonials about South Carolina's two-crops-a-year climate, her beauty, and abundant resources. From Kocherthal's *Detailed and Particular Report of the Famous Province Carolina Situated in English America* (1706) to Purry's *Description of the Province of South Carolina* (1731), and John Tobler's *Beschreibung von Carolina* (Description of Carolina; 1754), the state was depicted as the promised land for Europe's desperately poor populations. So many sought to emigrate to South Carolina that the phenomenon was described as an illness: "Rabies Caroliniae."

The recruitment was successful. Among South Carolina's early German-speaking settlements were the "Saltketchers" (1730–1740), a few score German families that settled on the upper Salkehatchie as security against slaves and outside enemies; "Purrysburg" (1732) with a large proportion of German-speaking settlers among the more than 600 inhabitants; Orangeburg and Amelia townships (1735) with 250 Swiss and 200 Germans on the first shipload; New Windsor (1737) opposite present-day Augusta on the Savannah River with prominent resident John Tobler, author of the *South Carolina Almanack* and more than a hundred other almanacs printed by Germantown's Christopher Sower (Saur); Saxe-Gotha township (1737); the "Dutch Fork" (i.e., Deutsch Volk) area between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, where around 2,000 Germans had settled by 1760; and "Londonderry" (1764) on Hard Labor and Coffee Town Creeks. Somewhat surprisingly, most of these settlements in the backcountry had Lutheran or Reformed church services with pastors such as the reverends Giessendanner, Zauberbühler, Zübly, and Theus long before Charleston had its first German church (1764).

Given the colony's settlement policy, the German-speaking population was involved with government strategies and their implementation from the beginning. Unlike Pennsylvania's German populace as described by Fogleman, South Carolina's German settlers migrated freely and often within the state and beyond, hardly showed hesi-

tation in dealing with or criticizing the colonial government, and participated actively by seeking political office and forming political action groups. In his *South Carolina Almanack* of 1755, Tobler accuses the government of being self-serving and complains that "Law-Suits are most intolerable for a poor Man" and even he who has money "will suffer Wrong, rather than to take upon himself such a Multitude of Pain, Trouble, Costs and Dangers" by seeking legal redress at far-away Charleston. Tobler was a justice of the peace at New Windsor. The immigrants frequently "melted" rapidly in the proverbial ethnic "pot" and sought to emulate their perception of "English gentlemen." Often they anglicized their names to facilitate the process. Michael Kalteisen, founder of the German Friendly Society (1766), one of America's oldest, still active organizations, began his political career as carter and messenger for the Commons House of Assembly in the 1750s under the name of Coldiron. He became Wagon Master General during the Cherokee War, and at his house the German Fusiliers were founded in early 1775. Like his friend Peter Bouquet (or Buche), who was Purrysburg's delegate to the Assembly, Kalteisen was elected repeatedly to the Provincial Congress. Both had illustrious political careers before and after the Revolutionary War. The Rev. J. J. Zübly, who had married John Tobler's daughter Anna in 1746, resided for some time in New Windsor and then served various churches in South Carolina before being called to the Independent Church in Savannah. He was Georgia's delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. A political conservative and faithful to his oath of allegiance, Zübly opposed the break with England, was banished from Georgia when the Revolution began, and went into hiding until Georgia's royal governor was reinstalled in Savannah after the recapture of Savannah by British troops in 1779. Zübly died in 1781. The Austrian Adam Treutlen (1726–1782), Georgia's first and "rebel" governor, was in some ways Zübly's counterpart. He held public office both in Georgia and South Carolina and was drawn and quartered by Tories on his South Carolina property in Orangeburg.

This brief survey mentions just a few of the substantial number of South Carolina's German-speaking immigrants who participated prominently in the political process before, during, and shortly after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, thereby apparently differing from the Pennsylvania settlers Fogleman discusses in detail. They set an example that was followed in subsequent centuries by South Carolina's German-born immigration commissioner John Andreas Wagener and the state's German-born mayors and congressmen, too numerous to mention here. A contrastive treatment would have enhanced the book and contributed much to an undeservedly neglected aspect of America's early German immigration. *Hopeful Journeys* was selected by the Pennsylvania German Society as its 1996 annual publication and is a meticulously researched, carefully annotated scholarly work.

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